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ANNALS
OF
THE LIFE
OF
THE RIGHT HONORABLE
WILLIAM PITT.

He governed the kingdom so long, "that the various passions of men mingled, and, in a manner, incorporated themselves with every thing that can be said or written concerning him."

LORD CHESTERFIELD OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

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ANNALS
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WILLIAM PITT.

THE life of WILLIAM PITT contains so much of the public and so little of the private man in its events, that, the reader will pardon our entering upon some illustration of the plan, the aim, and scope of this rapid sketch, before he proceeds, lest he should expect anecdotes where he will encounter orations, and incidents where he will but meet with opinions. Aware of the great difficulty at this moment of representing this illustrious character in an historical form, the following pages will be found to contain all the leading features in their native figure and proportion. The senate has been the great theatre where the abundance of his early cultivation, of his uncommon mind, and of his unbounded application, formed into maxims of policy, and digested into systems of government, was displayed and promulgated. To this source the editor has principally applied; and it is only where Mr. Pitt's speeches do not furnish the information necessary to complete the views of the work, that he has had recourse to the best historians of the times.

William Pitt was the youngest son of the illustrious Earl Chatham, and was born on the 28th of May, 1759, at a time when his father's glory was at its zenith; and when, in consequence of the wisdom of his councils, and the vigour and promptitude of his decisions, British valour reigned triumphant in every part of the globe.

On the accession of his present majesty, that great statesman, in consequence of new arrangements, retired from the station which he had so honorably filled, and consigning his elder sons to the care of others, he devoted his own time to the education of this his favorite child, on a strong and well-founded persuasion (as he was in the habit of saying) that "he would one day increase the glory of the name of Pitt."

His classical knowledge Mr. Pitt acquired under the care of a private tutor at Burton Pynsent, the seat of his father; and the

Earl took pleasure in teaching him, while still a youth, to argue with logical precision, and to speak with elegance and force. He accustomed him to the practice of making accurate enquiries respecting every subject that caught his attention, and taught him not to remain satisfied with a superficial observation of appearances. These lessons brought him into an early practice of cool and patient investigation, rarely, if ever, acquired by those who prefer the trappings of eloquence, and the showy ornaments of language, to plain sober diction, and pertinent matter of fact. Under such an able paternal guide, an acute mind could not fail to imbibe a store of sound practical knowledge. The Earl saw in his son a future statesman, and, in all probability, a future minister of his country also. It was a laudable ambition, and to gratify it he spared no exertions; directing his whole attention to the great object of rendering his son accomplished in all things requisite to form a public character, and to preserve the lustre already attached to the name of William Pitt. He, himself, frequently entered into disputations with him, and encouraged him to converse with others, upon subjects far above what could be expected from his years. In the management of these arguments, his father would never cease to press him with difficulties; nor would he permit him to stop, till the subject of contention was completely exhausted. By being inured to this method, the son acquired that quality which is of the first consequence in public life....a sufficient degree of firmness, and presence of mind, as well as a ready delivery, in which he was wonderfully aided both by nature and education. That he might enjoy all the benefits of instruction which this country could give him, and at the same time, by a rapid progress in the preliminary studies, qualify himself early for the senate, he was, at between fourteen and fifteen years of age, taken from under the private tuition of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, and entered at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he was placed under the tuition of Dr. Turner, now Dean of Norwich, and Doctor Pretzman, the present bishop of Lincoln; who, in the dedication of his excellent elementary work on Christian Theology, has, in terms of very affectionate regard, borne the most honorable testimony, not only to the promising abilities, but to the private virtues and amiable dispositions of his illustrious pupil.

Mr. Pitt was afterwards entered a student of Lincoln's Inn, and made so rapid a progress in his legal studies, as to be soon called to the bar, with every prospect of success. He once or twice went upon the western circuit, and appeared as junior counsel in several causes.

On the dissolution of parliament in September, 1780, Mr. Pitt was returned for a borough, at the age of 22. Some of his friends at Cambridge proposed that he should become a candidate for that University, but he declined the honor, because it was not unanimously offered. The opinion of his talents entertained by his illustrious father, and the sedulous cultivation the Earl had

bestowed upon his favorite son, were publicly known. The expectations of all ranks and parties were aroused in his favour. Mr. Burke's plan of a reform afforded Mr. Pitt the opportunity of making his first important speech in the house. It will be recollected that Lord North was at the head of administration. Mr. Pitt, therefore, appeared on the side of opposition. He did not, however, connect himself with any of its members as a party, but like his father, he trusted to himself. In the speech, which he now delivered, Mr. Pitt fully justified the public anticipation, and was considered an important accession to parliamentary ability.

In 1782 terminated the administration of Lord North, and during an adjournment that of Lord Rockingham was formed. Mr. Pitt had voted against Lord North's system and measures, but never formed any connection with the Rockingham confederacy, and accepted no place. Young as this gentleman was, he had studied moral and political philosophy more thoroughly than most of the ablest men of the time, though of riper experience. He had accurately investigated the history, detail and spirit of the British constitution, and comprehended its objects, principles and actual state; he conceived it to be the highest effort of human wisdom, and its support essential to the prosperity and happiness of the nation. He saw that, notwithstanding the excellence of our polity, various corruptions had arisen, and various evils had issued from its legislature, very pernicious to the country. Considering one of the chief advantages of our system to be the equipoise of the component estates, he imputed recent measures and miscarriages to a derangement in the proper balance. Like other young men of lofty genius, not yet matured in the practice of affairs, in devising a corrective he formed theories which subsequent experience could not entirely confirm. There was in many parts of the kingdom a disposition of election franchises totally disproportionate both to numbers and to property; and hence there appeared to be a defect in the representation of the commons of England. This inequality was founded neither on alleged merits, nor property on the part of the electors. In a considerable number of boroughs, there was not only a paucity of voters, but the few that enjoyed franchises were in such a state as to render them in a great measure dependent on individuals. As there were evidently very great abuses in the administration of affairs, and as parliament appeared in many instances to have sanctioned measures detrimental to the country, it was natural to impute the conduct of part of the majorities to the corrupt influence of the crown, and the efficacy of ministerial seduction. To remove the supposed source of evil, many patriotic men projected a reform in parliament. Lord Chatham had been favourable to an alteration in this department of the constitution: his son formed the same general opinion. He, therefore, resolved to propose some plan for meliorating the representation. Aware, however, of the delicate ground on

which he trod, he proceeded very cautiously. Intending to investigate facts before he drew a conclusion or constructed schemes, he confined himself to a motion that a committee should be appointed to enquire into the state of the representation in parliament, and to report their sentiments to the house. This was however negatived.

The Rockingham administration was soon after dissolved by the death of the Marquis, and the appointment of Lord Shelburne in his place; the other members of the cabinet resigning their offices, Mr. Pitt accepted the office of chancellor of the exchequer. . . . This year put an end to the war with America; the independence of that country being acknowledged, preliminary articles were signed on the 30th of November.

Lord Shelburne, though a man of considerable political knowledge, and particularly distinguished for an intimate acquaintance with foreign affairs, yet found from the great talents of his opponents, who were ranked under Lord North in one division, and under Mr. Fox in another, that without some accession of political strength he should be incapable of retaining his situation. Despairing of a re-union with those from whom he had so lately separated, he made overtures to the party which he had uniformly opposed. Mr. Pitt candidly bestowed a just tribute of praise on Lord North, but declared his determination never to be a member of a ministry in which that statesman should bear a part. It may indeed be fairly inferred from the conduct of Mr. Pitt, that he thought it wiser to stand upon political talents and character, than to seek the props of coalitions and combinations. Various reports were now spread concerning the intention of both the respective parties and individual members; all eyes were turned to the approaching meeting of parliament. Parliament having met on the 9th of July, for the first time after the change, Mr. Fox undertook to explain the motive of his late resignation. It had (he said) been understood by Lord Rockingham's friends, that Lord Shelburne had, on coming into office, acceded to their measures; that he had sacrificed his own opinion respecting the independency of America to the sentiments of his colleagues; but Mr. Fox found that totally different principles were adopted which he would not then detail, and thought it his duty to resign. He pledged himself, when circumstances would admit of a particular statement of his reasons, to prove that they were well founded. . . . Mr. Pitt arraigned the conduct of the late secretary of state in the severest terms. It was evident, he said, from the whole tenor of the right honorable gentleman's speeches, that he was more at variance with men than with their measures. He denied that he had adduced any public ground on which his resignation was justifiable. He deprecated the fatal consequences of dissension. He conjured the people to give the ministers their confidence till they had shewn that they did not deserve it; and

he pledged himself, in the most solemn manner, that, whenever he saw things going wrong, he would first endeavour to set them right; but failing in that effort, he should be the first to relinquish his present political connections. In consequence of the censure passed on the peace by the resolutions of the house of commons on the 21st of February, 1783, Lord Shelburne quitted his office of first commissioner of the treasury, and the chancellor of the exchequer declared publicly in the house, that he only held his place till a successor should be appointed to fill it. A ministerial interregnum ensued, which lasted till the beginning of April. Mr. Pitt then acquainted the house, that he had resigned his office of chancellor of his majesty's exchequer. On the 2d of April a new administration was announced, of which the following persons formed the cabinet: the Duke of Portland, Lord North, Mr. Fox, Lord J. Cavendish, Lord Keppel, Lord Stormont, and the Earl of Carlisle.

On the 7th of May, Mr. Pitt made a motion respecting the reform of parliamentary representation; the mode intended last year of examining the subject by a committee, was accounted too general, he therefore designed to bring forward specific propositions. The object of the first was to prevent bribery at elections, the second proposed to disfranchise a borough which should be convicted of corruption; but that the minority of votes should be recompensed: his third proposition was, that an augmentation of the knights of shires, and representatives of the metropolis should be added to the state of the representation. He left the number for future discussion, but said he should recommend one hundred. The arguments both for and against a parliamentary reform were nearly the same as in the preceding session, but the supporters constituted a smaller proportion; the majority against the reform were two hundred and ninety-three, to one hundred and forty-nine. It was in this session that the consideration of India affairs first afforded to Mr. Dundas an opportunity of completely exhibiting his powers and habits. During the administration of Lord North, his abilities were but imperfectly known, because occasion had admitted of only partial exertion. He was distinguished as a clear, direct and forcible reasoner; but he had not yet shewn his abilities as a statesman. In the India enquiry he manifested the most patient, constant and active industry to investigate; penetrating acuteness to discover the nature and situation of affairs, enlarged views to comprehend their tendency, and fertile energetic invention to devise regulations, both for correction and improvement. Mr. Dundas indeed, when in opposition to ministers, whose means of procuring their offices he did not approve, was far from considering invectives against administration, as the chief business of a member of parliament. He planned and proposed himself, much oftener than he censured the propositions and schemes of others.

Parliament assembled on the 11th of November, and soon afforded an opportunity of considering the views of administration. His Majesty's speech was short, but extremely comprehensive; it noticed the treaties of peace, and state of the East India affairs, the means of recruiting the national strength, afforded by the peace, and the revenue at large. The primary importance of these objects was undeniable, and an address, consonant to the speech, was unanimously passed in both houses. Mr. Pitt expressed his high approbation of the ends proposed by government, though he made some animadversions on the tardiness of ministers, in not having been further advanced with measures for the accomplishment of such momentous purposes. On all these grand subjects he counselled them to bring forward great, efficient, and permanent systems; as he highly applauded the ends which they professed to seek—he trusted the means which they would devise would be equally meritorious, in which case, they should have his warmest support. Mr. Fox, impressed with the very highest idea of Mr. Pitt's talents, declared nothing could afford him more satisfaction as a minister, or proud exultation as a man, than to be honored with the praise and support of Mr. Pitt.

On the 18th of November, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in his East India Bill: Its objects were to vest the whole affairs of the company in commissioners, to be appointed by parliament. The first, most strenuous, and powerful opposer of the bill was Mr. Pitt. The reasons which he urged against it were reducible to two heads. The proposed scheme, he said, “annihilated chartered rights, and created a new and immense body of influence unknown to the British constitution. He admitted that India wanted reform; but not such a reform as broke through every principle of equity and justice. The bill proposed to disfranchise the members, and confiscate the property of the East India Company; it required directors and trustees, chosen by proprietors, for the behalf of those constituents, and under their control, to surrender all lands, tenements, houses, books, records, charters, instruments, vessels, goods, money, and sureties, to persons over whom the owners were to possess no power of interference in the disposal of their own property. On what principle of law or justice could such a confiscation be defended? The rights of the company were conveyed in a charter, expressed in the clearest and strongest terms that could be conceived. It was clearer, stronger, and better guarded, in point of expression, than the charter of the Bank of England; the right by which our gracious sovereign held the sceptre of these kingdoms, was not more fully confirmed, nor further removed from the possibility of all plausible question. The principle of this bill once established, what security had the other public companies of the kingdom? What security had the Bank of England? What security had the national creditors, or the public corporations? Or indeed, what assurance could we have for the great charter itself...the foun-

dation of all our privileges, and all our liberties. The power, indeed, was pretended to be created in trust, for the benefit of the proprietors: No! but to a majority of either house of parliament, which the most drivelling minister could not fail to secure with the patronage of about two millions sterling, given by this bill. But the proposition was still more objectionable in another way; it was calculated to increase the influence of the minister to an enormous and alarming degree. Seven commissioners, chosen ostensibly by parliament, but really by administration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority the whole treasure of India. These poured forth like an irresistible torrent upon this country, would sweep away our liberties. and all we could call our own." Mr. Dundas argued on the same side, and even charged Mr. Fox with seeking perpetual dictatorship. The combined force of philosophy, eloquence and poetry, was employed by Mr. Burke, in supporting this grand project of his friend, and it was on this occasion that he made his celebrated speech on the extent and bounds of chartered rights....The fate of the bill is well known....it passed the commons, but was rejected by the lords.

On the 18th of December, at Twelve at night, his Majesty sent a message to the two secretaries of state, intimating that he had no farther occasion for their services, and directing that the seals of office should be delivered to him by the under-secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable. Early the next morning letters of dismission, signed Temple, were sent to the other members of the cabinet. Immediately the places of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer were conferred on Mr. Pitt....thus terminated the coalition administration, owing its downfall to Mr. Fox's East-India Bill.

By the dismissal of ministers the country found itself in a new situation; about to be governed by an administration, which a very powerful majority in the house of commons thwarted.

The new prime minister was a young man, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, supported by no family influence nor political confederacy; meanwhile addresses were pouring in from all quarters to the sovereign, to testify the highest satisfaction at the dismission of the old and the appointment of the new administration.

On the 12th of January, 1784, in the midst of the measures taken by opposition to prevent a dissolution of Parliament, Mr. Pitt being pressed to give the house some satisfactory assurance that it would not take place, refused, declaring that "he would never compromise the royal prerogative, nor bargain it away in the house of commons."

On the 14th, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in his East India Bill, which was, however, rejected by a majority of 222 to 214. While this bill was pending, the proposition that a minister ought not to continue in office without the support of

the commons, was carried in that house by 205 against 184; but in the house of peers Lord Thurlow insisted that this was a peremptory order which the house of commons had no right to issue in contravention of the law of the land; for that nothing short of an act of parliament, formally passed by the three states, had the power of suspending any part of the statute or common law of England.

Mr. Pitt, on the 18th of February, informed the house that the King had not, in compliance with the resolution of the commons, dismissed his ministers, and that the ministers had not resigned. Impartial men had desired a coalition which should comprehend the chief talents of both sides: With this view a considerable number of independent gentlemen met at the St. Alban's Tavern, on the 26th of January, and drew up an address, recommending an union of parties. This being signed by fifty-three members of the house of commons, was presented by a committee to the Duke of Portland and to Mr. Pitt. The Duke of Portland answered, he should be happy in obeying the commands of so respectable a meeting, but that the greatest difficulty to him was Mr. Pitt's continuance in office. Mr. Pitt also expressed his readiness to pay attention to the wishes of the meeting, and co-operate with their intentions to form a stronger and more extended administration, if it could be done consistently with principle and honor. In the further progress of the discussion, the Duke of Portland proposed, as a preliminary step, that Mr. Pitt should resign, in compliance with the resolution of the house of commons. Mr. Pitt declared that it was inconsistent with his principles and sentiments to resign his ministerial capacity in the present circumstances. The Duke of Portland offered the same preliminary repeatedly, in different forms; but Mr. Pitt still held it inadmissible, and the Duke of Portland continued to insist on it as an indispensable step; the negotiation, therefore, was suspended. Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt expressed their sentiments to the house, both appearing impressed with a sense of the benefits that might accrue from an united administration, but neither would relinquish their respective principles. Mr. Fox insisted, that it was unconstitutional in Mr. Pitt to hold his place after such a vote of the house of commons; that therefore he must resign. Mr. Pitt insisted, that it was not unconstitutional, and would not consent to resign...resignation would be the virtual admission of a control in the house of commons which he denied them to possess. The reciprocal communications between the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt were continued, and his majesty even sent a message to the duke, desiring that he and Mr. Pitt should have an interview for the sake of forming a new administration; this step, however failed to produce the desired effect.

The address for the removal of ministry was presented to the king, on the 25th of February. His majesty in a dignified

answer, fraught with reason, refused. Every attempt to induce the sovereign to sacrifice his choice of servants highly approved of by his people, to the mere will of the coalition party, unsupported by any constitutional reasoning was unavailing. On the 9th of March, they appeared to have considered themselves as vanquished. Thus terminated a contest between a powerful confederacy in the house of commons, and the executive government, supported by the confidence which the nation reposed in the talents and character of the principal minister. A man less powerful in reasoning would have yielded to allegations, so confidently urged, to sophistry so plausibly supported, or even to the very authority of such illustrious names. A minister, however, endowed with intellectual superiority, unless also resolutely firm, would have rather conceded what he knew to be right, than maintain a contest with so numerous, forcible and well disciplined a host, though he knew them to be wrong. Without a third advantage, a high degree of estimation with the public, success might have been uncertain. On the side of Mr. Fox, there were consummate ability, intrepid boldness, fortified by a special confederacy. On the side of Mr. Pitt, there was consummate ability and firmness, and unquestionable character, which was fortified by no special combination, but increased, extended, and enlarged by that general connection which wisdom, virtue, and appropriate fame rarely fail to attach to a senator or statesman among an informed, distinguishing and free people. Mr. Fox, though transcendent in genius, sought power by means which during the two preceding reigns, had exalted several ministers of no genius. Mr. Pitt secured public confidence, and acquired power, by personal qualities. But every impartial well-wisher to his country, while he rejoices that Britain obtained the services of Mr. Pitt, must no less regret that she lost those of Mr. Fox.

On the 24th of March, 1784, parliament was prorogued, and the next evening it was dissolved by proclamation.

In the new parliament a very considerable number of members friendly to Mr. Pitt was returned, more than 160 of the former having lost their seats. As far as popular opinion can be a test, it was decidedly in favor of him and against his opponents. The first ministerial efforts of Mr. Pitt were directed to finance. On the 2d of June, he brought in a bill for the more effectual prevention of smuggling; this passed. The commutation act was his next measure. It had appeared before the committee on smuggling, that only five millions, five hundred-thousand pounds of tea were sold annually by the East-India company, whereas the annual consumption of the kingdom was believed to exceed twelve millions; so that the contraband traffic in this article was more than double the legal. The remedy which the minister devised for this evil, was to lower the duties on tea to so small an amount, as to make the trade wholly unprofitable, and consequently not worth the pursuit. The rate of freight and insurance to the shore was about 25 per cent. and the insurance on the inland carriage about 10 per cent. more, in all 35 per cent. The duty on tea, as it then stood, was about 50 per cent. so that the smuggler had an advantage over the fair dealer of 15 per cent. As

this regulation would cause a deficiency in the revenue of about 600,000*l.* per annum, he proposed to make it good by an additional window tax. This tax, he said, would not be felt as an additional burden, but ought to be considered as a commutation, and would prove favorable to the subject. But the principal benefit which he expected from this measure, was the absolute ruin of the smuggling trade, which subsisted almost entirely on the profit of teas. Another benefit would be the timely and necessary relief it would afford to the East-India company. By this regulation they would find a vent for thirteen, instead of five millions of pounds of tea, and would be enabled to employ twenty more large ships in their service. This bill passed by a majority of 148 to 40. A third bill was passed for the regulation of duties on British spirits and on spirits imported from the West Indies.

The next measures of the minister were a bill to permit the East-India company to divide eight per cent. interest on their capital. An act to allow the company a further respite of duties due to the exchequer, to enable them to accept of bills beyond the amount prescribed by former acts, and to establish their future dividends....these were followed by a bill for the better government of the affairs of the East-India company.

The proposed change at home was nearly the same as in Mr. Fox's bill. It proposed to leave the management of commercial affairs to the company, and to vest the territorial possessions in a board of control. Abroad, the supreme council and governor general were to have an absolute power of originating orders to the inferior presidencies, in cases that did not interfere with the directions already received from Britain, and of suspending members of the other councils, in case of disobedience. The supreme government was restrained from offensive war or alliances, without orders from home; the subordinate settlements were prohibited from forming even defensive treaties, but with a conditional clause, which would render their permanency dependent on the ratification of the governor-general; the servants of the company were required to transmit accounts of all considerable transactions to the council of Bengal, and the supreme council to convey speedy intelligence to Britain of every important occurrence. In considering the comfort and security of the natives, enquiry was ordered to be instituted by the different presidencies into the expulsions of hereditary farmers, and the oppressive rents and contributions that have been extorted; and measures were directed to be employed for their relief and future tranquillity. Various regulations were added, respecting the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, and the Rajah of Tanjore, to private individuals and to the company. The bill further required an examination into the different establishments of the presidencies, for the purposes of retrenchment, and an annual report of the same to be transmitted to Britain. The proposition also contained both the description of delinquency, and the judicial establishment for its cognizance and punishment. Crimes committed by English subjects in any part of India, were made amenable to every British court of justice, in the same manner as if they had been committed in our immediate dominions. Presents, except such as were

merely ceremonial, were forbidden to be received, unless by a counsellor at law, a physician, a surgeon, or a chaplain, under the penalty of confiscation of the present, and an additional fine at the discretion of the court. Disobedience of orders, unless absolutely necessary, and pecuniary transactions contrary to the interests of the company, were declared to be high crimes and misdemeanors. The company were forbidden to interfere in favor of any person legally convicted of the above crimes, or to employ him in their service for ever. The governors of the several presidencies were empowered to imprison any person suspected of illicit correspondence, and to send him to England if they judged it necessary. Every person serving in India was required, within two months after his return to England, to deliver in upon oath to the court of the exchequer an inventory of his real and personal estates, and a copy thereof to the court of directors, for the inspection of the proprietors; and should the validity of the account be doubted, on any complaint to that effect made by the board of control, the court of directors, or three proprietors possessing India stock to the amount of 10,000*l.* conjunctively, the court of exchequer were required to examine upon oath the person accused, and to imprison him until he should have satisfactorily answered interrogatories. Neglect or concealment were to be punished by the imprisonment of the defendant, the forfeiture of all his estates, both real and personal, and an incapacity of ever serving the company. For the more speedy and effectual prosecution of persons in Great Britain, charged with crimes committed in India; a court was established, to consist of three judges, nominated respectively by the chancery, king's bench and common pleas, four peers taken from a list of forty, (the lists to be chosen by ballot from their respective houses), a certain number of whom should be subject to peremptory challenge, both by the prosecutor and the defendant. The judgment of the court was to extend to imprisonment, fine and incapacity of serving the company. Such were the outlines of Mr. Pitt's legislative, executorial and judicial arrangement for the government of India.

Mr. Pitt now found himself necessarily engaged in the laborious business of winding up the accounts of the war, and he was compelled by the burden of floating debt, and the general state of the national finances, to negotiate a loan, though in time of peace; but as this measure was unavoidable, in order to make the terms as favorable as possible, instead of granting enormous profit to private or political favorites, he disposed of it to the best bidders. The principle of impost with which he set out, was to bear, as lightly as possible, on the poorer classes. On the 24 day of August, 1784, the session was ended, by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed his warmest thanks for the eminent proofs exhibited by parliament of zealous and diligent attention to the public service.

Parliament met on the 26th of January, 1785. On the 18th of April Mr. Pitt again introduced his plan for a reform. Desirous, as the minister professed himself, of such a change in the representation, as he conceived most consistent with the principles, and conducive to the objects of the constitution, he was aware of the danger of

essays of reform, unless very nicely modified and circumscribed.... The leading principle was, that the choice of legislators should follow such circumstances as give an interest in their acts, and therefore ought, in a great degree, to be attached to property. This being established, it was obvious, that as many very considerable towns and bodies either had no vote in electing representatives, or had not the privilege of chusing a number proportioned to their property, it would be necessary to disfranchise certain decayed boroughs. In relations between government and the subject it was a manifest rule in jurisprudence on the one hand, that the interest of a part must give way to the interest of the whole; but on the other, that when such a sacrifice is required from a subject, the state should amply compensate individual loss incurred for the public good. Guided by these maxims, Mr. Pitt proposed to transfer the right of choosing representatives from thirty-six of such boroughs as had already fallen, or were falling into decay, to the counties and to such chief towns and cities as were at present unrepresented; that a fund should be provided for the purpose of giving the owners and holders of the boroughs disfranchised, an appreciated compensation; that the acceptance of this recompence should be a voluntary act of the proprietor, and, if not taken at present, should be placed out at compound interest, until it became an irresistible inducement to such proprietor; he also projected to extend the right of voting for knights of the shire to copyholders as well as freeholders, but his propositions were negatived by a majority of 248 to 174.

Parliament was this year principally occupied in forming arrangements for a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. In the year 1780, the trade of Ireland had been freed from the hurtful restrictions by which it had long been shackled. In 1782, the independence of Irish parliaments had been for ever established. It remained for the legislature of the two countries to arrange a system of commercial intercourse, which might best promote the advantage of parties so nearly connected. Mr. Pitt having received assurances of the disposition of the body of the Irish parliament to settle their commercial intercourse on the basis of reciprocity, proposed a plan under two general heads;....First, Britain was to allow the importation of the produce of our colonies in the West-Indies and America into Ireland. Secondly, there should be established between the two countries a mutual exchange of their respective productions and manufactures upon equal terms. A considerable portion of the session was employed in examining merchants and manufacturers upon the various details which could elucidate the subject; and after fully investigating the evidence, Mr. Pitt, on the 12th of May, 1785, proposed twenty resolutions, containing a full explanation of the terms before proposed, and also new resolutions, which arose from the increased knowledge that had been acquired. The chief object of the additional propositions were to provide, first, that whatever navigation laws the British parliament should find it necessary to enact, for the preservation of her marine, the same should be passed by the legislature of Ireland. Secondly, that Ireland should debar itself from trading to any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Straights

of Magellan, so long as it should be thought necessary to continue the charter of the English East-India Company. After three months had been chiefly occupied in examining witnesses, and modifying the various provisions, the propositions were passed, by a large majority, in the house of commons, and afterwards by the lords. On the 28th of July Mr. Pitt proposed a bill, founded upon them; this was accompanied by an address to the king, in which both houses concurred, containing a statement of what had been done by the British parliament, and observing that it now remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge and decide upon the proposed agreement. In Ireland national prejudice counteracted national interest; the clamor against the bill was very loud. In these circumstances it was deemed by the British legislature inexpedient to proceed any further, with overtures so misunderstood and misrepresented by the party to whom they were really so advantageous. From close connection, Mr. Pitt had seen that very great advantages must accrue to both countries; commercial intercourse would gradually tend to assimilation of character, and produce reciprocity of interest; the result of both would be political harmony. If his propositions had been adopted, it is morally certain that subsequent events, so calamitous to Ireland, would have been prevented. They were however abandoned.

Introductory to financial details, Mr. Pitt this season took a general view of the state of pecuniary affairs, by comparing the public income with the public expenditure. The result of his statement and calculations was, that there would be such a surplus as would enable parliament to appropriate one million sterling to a sinking fund, for the discharge of the national debt. At present, however, he had only seen the general practicability of the principle, but not having matured measures for such an appropriation, he chose to defer a specific plan till the following year. On the 8th of August on a message from the king, parliament was adjourned to the 27th of October, and afterwards prorogued by proclamation. British commerce continued to increase and extend; the flourishing state of trade, together with the announced project of Mr. Pitt for the discharge of the national debt, raised the stocks, in a short time, from fifty-four to seventy, in the three per cents consolidated, the barometer of the other funds. The mercantile and monied interest evidently reposed in the chancellor of the exchequer, a confidence which they had bestowed upon no minister since the time of his father. They conceived the highest opinion of his integrity, approved the principles on which he was proceeding, and were satisfied with the rapid advances of trade, as well as the increasing means of enlarging their capital.

On the 24th of January, 1786, the parliament was assembled. Without opposing the customary address on his majesty's speech, Mr. Fox went into a very wide field of continental politics. In reply, Mr. Pitt made an introductory observation deserving peculiar attention, as it very strongly exhibited a prominent feature in the eloquence of his opponent. Mr. Fox, he said, discovered most extraordinary dexterity in leaving out of a discussion such parts belonging to the subject as did not suit his purpose to be brought forward, and a similar dexterity of introducing, however foreign to the question,

such matter as he expected would be favourable. Mr. Pitt at this time declared an intention, to which, in the course of his parliamentary warfare he generally adhered, that let Mr. Fox range ever so wide into extraneous subjects, he should confine his answers to what he conceived relative to the purpose.

On the 29th of March, Mr. Pitt brought forward his plans for the reduction of the national debt. A committee had been appointed early in the session, in order to investigate and exactly ascertain the public income and expenditure, and strike the balance; the result of the investigation from the income of the year 1785 was, income 15,379,152*l.* expenditure 14,478,181*l.* so that a surplus of more than 900,000*l.* remained, and on this basis Mr. Pitt formed his scheme. He proposed that by taxes neither numerous nor burdensome, the balance might be raised to a million: by a succinct and clear view of our finances he demonstrated, that excess of income beyond expenditure was in the present and following years likely to increase; but in making his calculations he had contented himself with concluding that it would not decrease. This million was to be appropriated unalienably to the gradual extinction of the national debt. Several savings of expence and increase of revenue, especially through the customs from the suppression of smuggling, would add to the national income: annuities would also fall into the same fund, the accumulated compound added to these sources would, in twenty-eight years, if properly managed, produce an annual revenue of four millions to the state. For the management of this fund commissioners were to be appointed to receive two hundred and fifty thousand pounds quarterly, with the full power of employing it in the purchase of stock. In choosing persons to be intrusted, Mr. Pitt proceeded on his general principle, which had been already exhibited in his India bill, that in circumstances which required new delegation of executorial power, the trust should be vested in men whose official situation presumed their competency to the execution of the commission; the speaker of the house of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy governor of the bank of England, and accountant general, were gentlemen whose nomination he recommended. After illustrating his calculations, and the advantages of his scheme, he compressed the substance into the form of a motion. On this subject Mr. Sheridan took a leading part in opposition, and Mr. Fox proposed that in a future loan, the commissioners might accept of as much of it as they could pay from the public money in their hands; and thus, besides a prevention of that amount of future debt which would be equivalent to the redemption of the part, the public would be gainers by the profits which would accrue from such a loan. The bill containing the original principle and plan, though with some modification of the latter, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent.

The next measure of the ministry was an act to subject foreign wines to the excise, by which great and various frauds upon the revenue were prevented, which passed into a law....but the bill for appointing commissioners to enquire into the state and condition of

the woods, forests and land revenues belonging to the crown, was rejected.

The conduct of Mr. Hastings began now to occupy the attention of parliament. Mr. Burke delivered twenty-two charges against that gentleman. On the 4th of June, Mr. Pitt acquiesced in the third charge, relative to Cheyt Sing, brought by Mr. Fox, and considered the proceedings at Benares beyond the exigence of the case. It was carried by a majority of 119 to 79 that the charge contained matter of impeachment.

The session terminated on the 11th of July. It was in this interval of parliamentary duties that Mr. Pitt matured his noble design of changing the contentious system which had so long prevailed between England and France. The means of inducing the two countries to pursue objects so conducive to their mutual benefit, he thought would be commercial intercourse, which should reciprocally increase the value of production and labour.

Before he formed his scheme for promoting an intercourse between the two chief nations of the world, he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of facts, the actual productions, and the probable resources of the respective countries. For commercial information and science, especially the history and actual state of modern trade, no man exceeded Lord Hawkesbury. Mr. Eden's acuteness and conversancy with every subject of commerce and diplomatic experience, rendered him a most valuable auxiliary in digesting and composing the plan at home, and the ablest agent for negotiating and concluding an advantageous agreement with France. He accordingly repaired to Paris; where he conducted and completed the desired arrangements with the ministers of Louis.

The treaty in question established reciprocal liberty of commerce between the two countries. The subjects of each power were to navigate and resort to the dominions of the other, without any disturbance, except for transgressing the laws. The prohibitory duties in each kingdom, by enhancing the price, had reciprocally discouraged the sale of their principal commodities; these were now modified to the satisfaction of both by a tariff. The wines of France, to be imported into England, were subjected to no higher duty than the productions of Portugal; the duties on brandies, and various other articles, were to be lowered in proportion; and the commodities of Britain were to be equally favored in France. On the same basis of reciprocity were the articles respecting disputes between the mercantile, maritime, or other subjects of the two countries, and various details of civil, commercial and political intercourse, to be adjusted; the right of revising this treaty after the term of twelve years, to propose and make such alterations as the times and circumstances should have rendered proper or necessary, was reserved. In a treaty formed on the basis of reciprocal freedom of trade, the advantage to the contracting parties was, and necessarily must be, in the compound rates of their resources and skilful industry. At first sight, from the climate and soil of France, the balance of commercial benefit appeared in favor of that country, and many politicians reasoned so with much plausibility; But Mr. Pitt had profoundly considered the relative

circumstances, and justly concluded that the French industry and skill was much more inferior to the British industry and skill, than the French soil and climate were superior to ours; and thus, that greater benefit would accrue to this country from the freedom of trade: experience justified his conclusions. Parliament met on the 23d of January, 1787.

On the 4th of Feb. the treaty was submitted to parliament. After the minister had explained and supported the object, spirit, and provisions of this treaty, numbers of the opposite side attacked it on a variety of grounds. Mr. Fox, in particular, maintained, that France was the inveterate and unalterable enemy of Great Britain; no mutual interest, could possibly eradicate what was deeply rooted in her constitution. The intercourse which this treaty would produce, must be extremely hurtful to the superior national character of England. The nearer the two nations were drawn into contact, and the more successfully they were invited to mingle with each other, in the same proportion the remaining morals, principles, and vigour of the English national mind would be enervated and corrupted. The minister himself controverted Mr. Fox's position, that France was unalterably the enemy of the country. The existence of eternal enmity was totally inconsistent with the constitution of the human mind, the history of mankind, and the experience of political societies..... Every state recorded in history had been at different times in friendship or amity with its several neighbours. During the greater part of the seventeenth century profound peace had subsisted between France and England; there was nothing improbable in an idea that such a system might again prevail; but should war again arise, would the treaty deprive us of our natural watchfulness, or our accustomed strength? On the contrary, as it must enrich the nation, it would also prove the means of enabling her to combat her enemy with more powerful effect; but it was now much less likely that our resources should be called for such a purpose, than at former periods. . . . The treaty underwent many and various discussions in its passage through the two houses, and was approved by a great majority of both; and on the 8th of March an address was presented from the lords, the commons testifying their joint approbation of the treaty with France.

One of the subjects recommended to parliament by the speech from the throne, was the consolidation of the customs. From the complexity of the whole system, it was scarcely possible that a merchant could be acquainted, by any calculation of his own, with the exact amount of what he was to pay. To remedy this great abuse, Mr. Pitt proposed to abolish all the duties that now subsisted, and to substitute one single duty on each article, amounting, as nearly as possible, to the aggregate of the various subsidies now paid. Mr. Pitt had given severe attention to this business; and had not left one person unconsulted from whom any information could be obtained, and the greatest diligence had been used to circulate the plan among the most competent judges of those persons who were immediately concerned in its operation and effects. The proposed scheme caused no debates, the object was so evidently advantageous, and the means so well adapted, as to command the concurrence and approbation of the

whole house.* On the 26th of April, Mr. Pitt presented to the house of commons a bill, stating, that frauds had been committed in the collection of the tax on post horses, and providing that, as a remedy to the evil, the tax should be farmed. The bill passed both houses without a division. The labour attending the investigation of this subject can only be guessed by the fact of its comprehending upwards of 3,000 resolutions to be submitted to the house.

On the 28th of March, Mr. Beaufoy, member for Yarmouth, at the request of the deputies of the dissenting congregations in and about London, made a motion for taking into consideration the repeal of the corporation and test acts. The points which Mr. Beaufoy endeavored in a long and able speech to prove, were chiefly three....First, that the test act, which constitutes the most extensive grievance of which the dissenters complain, was not originally levelled against them, and that the causes which dictated the corporation act have ceased to operate. The second fact which Mr. Beaufoy wished to substantiate was, that every man having an undoubted right to judge for himself in matters of religion, he ought not, on account of the exercise of that right, to incur any punishment, or to be branded with a mark of infamy; that the exclusion from military service and civil trusts was both a punishment and an opprobrious distinction. Lastly, he dwelt much upon the impropriety and scandal of prophaning a most sacred and awful sacrament, by mixing it with concerns that were merely temporal; and noted the distressing situation in which it placed the clergy, who were under the necessity of giving it to all who offered themselves for the purpose of qualification, or of avoiding grievous prosecution.

He concluded with moving, that a committee of the whole house should take into consideration so much of the acts referred to, as require persons, before they are admitted into any office or place in corporations, or having accepted any office, civil or military, or any place of trust under the crown, to receive the sacrament of the lord's supper, according to the rites of the church of England.

Mr. Pitt opposed the motion, and began by marking the difference between civil and religious liberty on the one hand, and political trusts on the other. The former every good constitution of government must secure to all its subjects; the latter was bestowed with discrimination, according to individual qualification and disposition, of which the community had the right of judging by any rule that it thought expedient. The test was merely the condition in which it would admit service; and none could be aggrieved by an exclusion arising from himself. The present, therefore, was not a question of grievance and redress, but simply of policy.

On this question only, legislation had to deliberate. Was it expedient on the present circumstances, sentiments, and principles of the

* Mr. Burke, who rose immediately after the minister, professed that it did not become him, or those who like him unfortunately felt it to be frequently their duty to oppose the measures of government, to content themselves with a sullen acquiescence; but on the contrary, to rise manfully and do justice to the measure, and to return their thanks to its author, on behalf of themselves and their country.

dissenters, for the nation to employ them in certain specified offices. To such an inquiry, every recapitulation of former history was extraneous; a repeal might have been wise in the time of Charles II. and unwise in the reign of George III. The dissenters were, undoubtedly, a body of men, who were entitled to the consideration of parliament, but there was another class equally as respectable and more numerous, whose fears on this occasion would be alarmed. Many members of the church of England conceived that the ecclesiastical part of our constitution would be seriously injured, and their apprehensions were not to be treated lightly. If he were arguing on principles of right, he should not talk of alarm; but he had already said, he was arguing upon principles of expediency. The church and state were united upon principles of expediency, and it concerned those, to whom the well being of the state was entrusted, to take care that the church should not rashly be demolished. The persons who now applied, declared that they meant nothing political by their application; but he must look at human actions to find out the springs. Highly as he thought of many of the present dissenters, he could not but observe there were persons among them, who would not admit that any establishment was necessary; and against such it became the legislature to be upon their guard. Doctor Priestley, whose abilities and learning were very high, and whose opinions were received as oracles by a certain class of dissenters, had proclaimed enmity against the church. Sectarians, said Dr. P. were wisely placing as it were, grain by grain, a train of gunpowder, to which the match would one day be laid to blow up the fabric of error, which could never be again raised upon the same foundation. When he saw proceedings, intended to subvert so important a part of our polity, he thought circumspection and vigilance absolutely necessary: when there was an avowed design to sap the fortress, it became the duty of the garrison to secure the outposts: the dissenters already enjoyed every mental freedom to serve God according to their conscience, in the most ample degree: what they now required was inexpedient and dangerous. These sentiments deeply impressed the house, and on a division, the proposition of Mr. Beaufoy was negatived by a majority of 178 to 100.

On the 7th of Feb. Mr. Sheridan opened the third article of accusation against Mr. Hastings. It is impossible to do justice to this celebrated speech,* which occupied the extraordinary time of five hours and a half. On the 2d of April, various other accusations were examined, and the impeachment was at length voted. When the form in which that inquest should be carried on, became a subject of consideration, Mr. Fox proposed, that there should be a general

* The late Mr. Logan, well-known for his literary efforts, and author of a most masterly defence of Mr. Hastings, went that day to the house of commons, prepossessed for the accused and against the accuser. At the expiration of the first hour, he said to a friend, "All this is declamatory assertion without proof;" when the second was finished, "This is a most wonderful oration;" at the close of the third, "Mr. Hastings has acted very unjustifiably;" the fourth, "Mr. Hastings is a most atrocious criminal;" and at the last, "of all monsters of iniquity the most enormous is Warren Hastings."

charge of impeachment; Mr. Pitt, that they should separate and analyze the charges, since the accusation consisted of many allegations, which had not been substantiated, and of many facts which could not be considered as criminal; that thus each part should be tried by its distinct and individual merits. Mr. Burke and Mr. Sheridan coincided with the minister, and his plan was adopted.

On the 30th of May, parliament was prorogued. It was during this summer that Holland was distracted with internal dissention.... The part taken by surrounding nations will be remembered by all; but when the king of France announced to the cabinet of England that he had determined to afford to the states of Holland the assistance which they had requested; our king declared to France, that if she interposed forcibly, Britain should take an active part, and he gave immediate directions for augmenting his fleet and army. A powerful armament was equipped with uncommon expedition. A decisive and grand tone, worthy of mighty power supporting conscious justice, produced the desired effect, and France made no hostile effort to support the revolutionary faction. This was the first occasion that displayed the genius and energy of Mr. Pitt in foreign policy, and procured him general admiration abroad and at home.

The house met again on the 27th of November. The conduct of Mr. Pitt respecting Holland was extremely popular among all parties throughout the kingdom; and in both houses it experienced the same unanimous commendation. Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Sheridan, perfectly coincided with him and his friends in the general principle of interference in continental affairs to preserve the balance of Europe.

The most important measure of this session, was a bill introduced by Mr. Pitt, to explain doubts which had arisen concerning a part of the law of 1784, for the administration of British India. The bill related to the pay and subsistence of British troops in India. After much and violent opposition, it was carried by a majority of 54, and thus it was declared that the commissioners, being instituted for the territorial administration of India by the act of 1784, possessed a directorial, as well as controlling power, in whatever was necessary to the effectual execution of the trust reposed in them by the act of 1784.

On the 5th of May, 1788, the financial plan for the year was proposed by Mr. Pitt. The minister observed that several extraordinary expences had been necessarily incurred, but nevertheless the receipts of the country had fully answered even unforeseen demands, without deviating from the plan which the legislature had adopted for diminishing the national debt. When such were the savings in a year of unusual expense, as our resources were fast increasing in the extension of commerce, and the improvement of revenue, we may most firmly infer, that our financial concerns were in a state of progressive melioration; no new taxes were imposed, but a lottery was appointed. It was also in this session that the question on the slave trade was first agitated in the house. A committee of the privy council had been employed in investigating facts. Mr. Pitt finding that sufficient information to authorise parliamentary discussion had not been collected, on the 9th of May proposed that the consideration of the slave trade should be deferred till next session.

During the recess, the war which had raged between the emperors of Russia and Germany in confederate league, and the Turks, had given rise to a new disposition of things upon the continent. At this crisis a triple alliance was formed, which bound Great Britain, Prussia, and the republic together, to reciprocal succour and defence; upon this point Mr. Pitt again differed from Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox's project of continental alliance was to connect ourselves with Austria, that should a war arise with France, such a powerful enemy might divide her attention, and prevent it from being directed to maritime affairs. Mr. Pitt's plan was to form continental alliances according to existing situations. France was engaged in no scheme of policy, likely to effect the general safety of Europe. The emperor was so involved in the designs of Catharine, that an alliance with him would be impracticable, except at the expence of seconding the attempts of Russia. In the formidable combination between these two powers, that nation became naturally the ally of Britain, which had a common interest in preventing the aggrandizement of the parties.

The attention of parliament (which met without summons on the 20 of November, agreeably to the prorogation) was called to a very calamitous subject. This was the mental derangement of the sovereign, arising, as it was said, from the effects of fever. The house adjourned for a fortnight, till the fact should be ascertained. It appeared from the evidence of his majesty's physicians, who were examined by the privy council, that a temporary incapacity existed. The house met, and Mr. Pitt moved for a committee to search into precedents. Mr. Fox objected to a committee for such a purpose, as nugatory, and contended that the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity, as in case of his natural demise. Mr. Pitt combated his doctrine, as totally inconsistent with actual history and the spirit of the constitution. There were, he admitted, no precedents applicable to this specific case of incapacity; but whatever disability had at any time arisen in the executive branch, as the history of the country shewed, had been supplied by parliament. When the regular exercise of the powers of government was, from any cause, suspended, to whom could the right of providing a remedy for the existing defect devolve, but to the people, from whom all the powers of government originated! To assert an inherent right in the Prince of Wales to assume the government, was virtually to revive those exploded ideas of the divine and indefeasible authority of princes, which had justly sunk into contempt and almost into oblivion. Kings and princes derive their powers from the people, and to the people alone, through the organ of their representatives, did it appertain to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific or positive provision. On these grounds, Mr. Pitt insisted that the prince had no more right to be appointed to supply the existing deficiency than any other subject; though he admitted that in the present case, expediency dictated that parliament should offer him the regency; substitution of another to execute the office of king, during a temporary incapacity, was merely a measure of necessary policy; It was

incumbent on the legislature to entrust the authority to such a person or persons, as it should deem most likely to answer the purpose: after these observations, the question being put, it was carried that a committee should be appointed to search for precedents.

Mr. Fox, at the next meeting, entered up an explanation of his meaning, and said, that his expressions on a former day had been misrepresented; his position, which he was still ready to maintain, was that the houses of parliament had the right to adjudge the fact of incapacity, but on such adjudication the heir apparent had the right of holding the reins of government whilst the incapacity lasted; as, however, Mr. Pitt agreed with him, that in the present circumstances the prince was the person who ought to hold that office, it would be much more prudent to abstain from discussing such nice and subtle distinctions. Mr. Pitt replied that he differed as much from Mr. Fox, respecting the question of right, now that he had explained his meaning, as before such an explanation. Mr. Fox, he said, now asserted, that the Prince of Wales had a right to exercise the royal authority, under the present circumstances of the country; but that it was a right not in possession, until the prince could exercise it on what he called the adjudication of Parliament. He, on his part, denied, that the Prince of Wales possessed any right whatever. This was a very important question, and must be decided before they could proceed any further; there might be difference of opinion, whether any regency was necessary yet, and a difference of opinion might arise, if necessary, what were the power requisite to be granted to the regent; but nothing could be determined till the matter of right should be discussed. He not only challenged Mr. Fox to adduce either precedent or law to support his doctrine, but actually shewed from history that such a claim of right had been made, and had been refuted by parliament. In the reign of Henry VI. the Duke of Gloucester, next heir to the crown, claimed the regency during the minority of the King, and applied to parliament; the answer to this claim was, that he neither had by birth, nor by the will of his brother, any right whatever to the exercise of royal authority; they, however, appointed him regent, and entrusted him with the care of the young king. At the revolution, parliament proceeded on the same general principle; the king had ceased to act; to supply this deficiency, parliament acted as legislators; they did not restrict themselves to a simple address to the Prince of Orange to accept the crown; they felt not only that they must have a king, but they must have a king on certain terms and conditions; they did what amounted to a legislative act; they came to a resolution to settle the crown, not on the Prince of Orange and the heirs of his body, nor on the Princess Mary and her heirs, but on the Prince and Princess jointly. Here it was evident that whatever the necessity of the case required at that time, the lords and commons possessed the power to provide for it, and consequently possessed the power to supply the deficiency. Mr. Pitt proposed on the 16th of Dec. three resolutions: the first stating his majesty's present unfitness for performing the functions of the kingly office: secondly, that the lords and commons had a right to provide for that case, and

were in duty bound to make such provisions; thirdly, that the lords and commons should determine on the most effectual means of exercising their right, by vesting the powers and authority of the crown on behalf of the king during his majesty's illness.....After a long debate, the resolutions were voted.

The preliminary subjects having been discussed by both houses, Mr. Pitt, before he explained his plan of the regency to parliament, submitted its outlines to the Prince in a letter; they were, that his highness should be empowered to exercise the royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, during his majesty's illness, and to do all acts which might legally be done by his majesty. The care of his majesty's person, the management of the household, and the direction and appointments of the officers and servants therein should be in the queen, under such regulations as might be thought necessary. The power to be exercised by his highness should not extend to the disposal of either real or personal property of the king (except in the renewal of leases) to the bestowal of any pension, the reversion of any office, or any appointments whatever, but during his majesty's pleasure, except these granted by law for life; that his highness should not be empowered to confer the dignity of the peerage on any person, except his majesty's issue who had attained the age of twenty-one years. In reply, his highness expressed his disapprobation of the plan and reasons, but deemed it incumbent on him to accept the office.

On the 16th of Jan. 1789, this plan was submitted to parliament; it experienced a violent opposition; and in the house of lords all the princes of the blood royal voted against the minister. The resolution nevertheless passed and a regency bill was brought in on the 6th of Feb. on the 12th it passed, and was carried to the lords and read a second time. It will be remembered that his majesty's recovery rendered the third reading unnecessary. Nothing important to the subject of these annals passed in the remainder of the session. The shop-tax was indeed repealed, and tobacco subjected to the excise. On the 11th of Aug. the house rose.

The reader will recollect, that the French revolution had for some time agitated the minds of surrounding nations. England seemed disposed to congratulate her ancient rival upon the dawn of her liberty. Its principal advocates were the admirers of republican forms of government, and those who were willing to cast an odium upon monarchy by attributing all the wars which have desolated the world, to the ambition and avarice of princes. Such were the zeal and activity of the French agitators, that there was no part of Europe in which their agents were not established for the purpose of disseminating their principles. Great Britain and Ireland offered the fairest field to the industry of these missionaries. It was not neglected, and was cultivated not without success. Active and zealous partizans were found to co-operate with them. Nor was this confined to individuals; but various political societies, of more or less ancient denomination, made it their business to propagate their principles, and recommend their example. The nobility of France had not been long proscribed and the church plundered, nor the king

many days led captive to Paris, before letters of congratulation were sent from several of these societies in both kingdoms, and a regular official correspondence opened between them and the leaders in France. In the transactions of these societies, the means by which the revolution was carried on and effected, if not always praised, were yet pronounced to be sanctified by the end; the example was recommended as a glorious pattern for the imitation of mankind, and sanguine expectations were held out, that it was but the first, though an essential and leading step to the general emancipation of Europe. That these public declarations might not miss their effect upon the minds of the people, they were accompanied with comparisons between the august perfection of the new French constitution, and the imperfections of our own; and the palm of having so soon outstripped their ancient rivals in the glorious race of freedom, was conceded with regret and humiliation. At the same time the press teemed with publications which were distributed gratis, and circulated not only among the lower class of the community, but through the army and the navy. In these writings the people were invited to form themselves into clubs and societies, after the manner of the French; and many were actually formed in a great number of the most populous towns of the kingdom, avowedly *affiliated* to use an expression of their own by the democratic clubs in France.

Such was the state of things previous to the meeting of parliament, which took place on Thursday, the 21st day of January, 1790. On the 9th of February, when the military estimates were reported from the committee, a debate took place, in which Mr. Fox having a second time let fall some expressions of applause of the French revolution, Mr. Burke rose, and in a speech fraught with political sagacity, the strongest argument, and the finest imagery, unfolded *his* view of that great political phenomenon, which he characterised as an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, plundering, ferocious, bloody and tyrannical democracy. He observed, that the very worst part of the example set us in France, was the late assumption of citizenship by the army. As this opinion was in direct opposition to the sentiments of Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke expressed the great regret he felt in differing from his right honorable friend; and after pronouncing a very fine panegyric upon his superior abilities, and bearing testimony to the natural moderation, disinterestedness, and benevolence of his disposition, he begged the house to judge from his coming forward to mark an expression or two of his best friend, how anxious he was to keep the distemper of France from the least countenance in England, where he was sure, some wicked persons had shewn a strong disposition to recommend an imitation of the French spirit of reform. Were he opposed to any, the least tendency towards the means of introducing a democracy like theirs, as well as to the end itself, that he would abandon his best friends, and join with his worst enemies, to oppose either the means or the end. This speech of Mr. Burke was received with great and general applause.

On the 2d of March, Mr. Fox renewed the application to parliament for the repeal of the test act. It was opposed in a long and

able speech by Mr. Pitt. He began by expressing his obligations to Mr. Fox for his clear and candid statement of the precise object of the dissenters in their present application, and on the full extent to which his motion was intended to be carried.

The next question of importance which engaged the consideration of the house of commons, was a motion made by Mr. Flood, on the 4th of March, for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people in parliament. Mr. Pitt said, he had brought forward, some years back, a proposition of the same nature; to which the opposition had been successful, though the times and a variety of other circumstances were then more favourable than at present. The chief objection then, was the danger of innovation; and it was a knowledge of the impression that argument had made, which rendered him desirous of waiting till some more favorable moment than the present should offer itself, when he most certainly should again submit his ideas to the house. At present, unless the right honorable gentleman would consent to withdraw his motion, he should move to adjourn. Mr. Flood withdrew his motion....Subjects of revenue occupied the chief attention of parliament during the session.

In April, 1790, Mr. Pitt opened his scheme of finance for the year. Having stated the prosperous situation of the country, to prove and illustrate his position, he recapitulated the extraordinary expences defrayed in 1789, in addition to the regular establishment. Notwithstanding these unforeseen demands, though we had borrowed only one million, we had paid six millions of debt. The increase of revenue, which had thus liquidated so many and great charges, originated in two permanent causes, the suppression of smuggling and the increase of commerce. On the 5th of May Mr. Pitt brought down to the house his Majesty's message on the dispute with Spain, relative to Nootka Sound. He declared that, much as we wished for peace we must be prepared for war, if Spain refused satisfaction. On this occasion Mr. Pitt had the cordial support of Mr. Fox and the unanimous concurrence of the house. The session closed on the 10th of June, and parliament was dissolved the next day. On the 24th of July the Spanish government issued a declaration, which, by yielding to the claims of the king of England, put an end to warlike preparation. The convention completed the satisfaction of the nation, who deemed it equally honorable and advantageous to Britain as the minister had obtained every compensation which justice could demand.

The new parliament met on the 26th of November, 1790. In the course of this busy session two messages were delivered from his majesty, which gave rise to many warm and important debates, affecting, and yet likely to affect the politics of this country and all Europe. The first, in order of time, related to the government of Canada, the regulation of which province had confessedly been long under the consideration of the king's ministers, and had been cursorily brought to the notice of the house in former sessions. The Quebec bill, which arose out of this message, proceeded regularly through the house for six weeks unopposed. It was still in its silent progress when the other message was delivered, on the 28th of March. It imported, that "as his majesty's endeavours, in conjunction

with his allies, to bring about a pacification between Russia and the Porte had proved ineffectual, his majesty had judged it requisite, for the purpose of adding weight to his representation, to make some farther augmentation to his naval force. The indications of enmity to this country, joined to Catharine's ambitious projects, strongly impelled the British government to prevent the encroachments of the Russian court. Britain and her allies adhered to their purpose, of inducing or compelling Catharine to restore the conquest. Finding pacific negotiations unavailing, the defensive alliance projected more effectual uneasiness. The message coming under consideration, Mr. Fox opposed hostile interference. The forcible eloquence of that great statesman coinciding with the immediate interests of merchants and manufacturers, impressed those bodies of men very powerfully. Their sentiments were rapidly and widely diffused through the nation, and rendered the people in general inimical to a Russian war. The administration of Mr. Pitt had never encountered so rude a shock as from this discussion. Yet it is probable, that had he been at liberty to divulge all which he then knew of the danger hanging over the North, and which subsequent events have unfolded to the world, his conduct might have been viewed in a very different light; at least, we have reason to suppose, from the recent language of his most violent opponents, who, when it was too late, would have urged an actual war in defence of Poland. But while he acted from his knowledge, parliament and the people were under the necessity of judging from their own. Their sense was intelligibly declared against him: he acknowledged, and obeyed it.

Mr. Pitt's Quebec bill, in its latter stages, gave occasion to the public declaration of a breach between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, which was the forerunner of a more serious, because much more extensive schism in the party of opposition. The slave trade underwent this year a much more complete discussion than when it was formerly agitated. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox took the same side, but their efforts were ineffectual. A vote for a gradual abolition passing, Mr. Pitt, who had invariably supported the measure of abolition, not merely as a minister, but as a man feeling for all mankind, in a speech, fraught with argument and eloquence, conjured the house not to postpone, even for an hour, the great and necessary work of abolition. "Reflect, said Mr. Pitt, on the 80,000 persons annually torn from their native land! on the connections which are broken! on the friendships, attachments, and relationships that are burst asunder.... There is something in the horror of it that surpasses all the bounds of imagination. How shall we repair the mischiefs we have brought upon that continent? If, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse, even now, to put a stop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Britain! Shall we not rather count the days and hours that are suffered to intervene, than to delay the accomplishment of such a work? I trust we shall not think ourselves too liberal if we give to Africa the common chance of civilization with the rest of the world. If we listen to the voice of reason and duty, and pursue, this night, the line of conduct which they prescribe. Some of us may live to see a reverse of that picture from which we now turn our

eyes with shame and regret. We may behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of industry, in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which, at some happy period, in still later times, may blaze with full lustre; and, joining their influence to that of pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the more distant extremities of that immense continent. Then may we hope, that even Africa, though last of all the quarters of the globe, shall enjoy at length, in the evening of her days, those blessings which have descended so plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world.

Nos primus equis oriens afflavit anhelis;

Illic sera rubens accendit lumina vesper.

In this view, as an atonement for our long and cruel injustice towards Africa, the measure now before the house most forcibly recommends itself to my mind. The great and happy change to be expected in the state of her inhabitants is, of all the various and important benefits of the abolition, in my estimation, incomparably the most extensive and important. The session concluded on the 10th of June, without any other occurrence worthy of remark.

Great and important as were the progressions of the public opinion in 1791, to arrest the attention of the philosophical observer, the events in England were not numerous. The principle of Britain, manifested not only in her declarations to foreign powers, but in her uniform conduct, was, that an internal change in the political system of any country did not justify the interference of neighboring nations, unless that internal change led its votaries to aggression.

This principle, acted upon so long as it was possible, shews very forcibly the sentiments of the subject of these annals, upon the greatest question of his life, and may assist in rescuing his name from the aspersions of his and his country's enemies.

Parliament met Jan. 31, 1792. Nothing occurred of interest till Mr. Pitt produced his budget on the 17th of Feb. when the chancellor of the exchequer entered upon the subject in a committee of the whole house, and delivered a splendid speech, which was heard with general admiration by the house, and read with avidity by people of all descriptions, in every part of the kingdom. The amount of the permanent revenue, with the land and malt duties annexed, from Jan. 1791 to Jan. 1792, he estimated at 16,730,000*£*. being 300,000*£*. more than the aggregate of the preceding year. The permanent expenditure, including the interest of the debt, the annual million applied towards its extinction, the civil list, and the military and naval establishments, he calculated at 15,810,000*£*. leaving a clear surplus of more than 900,000*£*. In this state of things he thought himself authorized to propose the repeal of a part of the more burdensome taxes, to the amount of about 200,000*£*. per annum, and at the same time to apply the sum of 400,000*£*. to the reduction of the national debt, in aid of the annual million appropriated by parliament. This would still fall far short of his estimate of the national ability, and there was good ground to believe that we had not reached, by many degrees, the summit of our prosperity. When the debentures

to the American loyalists should be discharged, which would happen in about four years, an addition of near 300,000*£*. would accrue to the revenue. In consequence of the general improvement of credit, the three per cents. would soon rise so high as to enable the parliament to effect a reduction of the four, and, as soon as by law redeemable, of the five per cents. which would add the sum of 700,000*£*. or little less to the sinking fund. The indefinite additions which might be expected from the enormous produce of the existing taxes, the result of our rapidly increasing commerce, must mock all calculation. Our exports had arisen one third in value since the year 1783, i. e. from 14,741,000*£*. to 20,120,000*£*. and our internal trade had increased in at least an equal proportion. Thus shall we be enabled to make a swiftly accelerated progress in the essential work of liquidating the national debt, and in a very short time to reach a point which, perhaps, not long since was thought too distant for calculation. On the continuance of our present prosperity it is, indeed, impossible to count with certainty; but, unquestionably, there never was a time when, from the situation of Europe, we might more reasonably expect a durable peace than at the present moment. After developing with much ability and sagacity the hidden but operative springs of the returning prosperity of the country, the minister concluded with the following memorable words: "From the result of the whole I trust I am entitled to infer, that the scene which we are now contemplating, is not the transient effect of accident, not the short-lived prosperity of a day, but the genuine and natural result of regular and permanent causes. The season of our severe trial is at an end; and we are at length relieved, not only from the dejection and gloom which a few years since hung over the country, but from the doubt and uncertainty which, even for a considerable time after our prospect had begun to brighten, still mingled with the hopes and expectations of the public. We may yet, indeed, be subject to those fluctuations which often happen in the affairs of a great nation, and which it is impossible to calculate or foresee; but as far as there can be any reliance on human speculations, we have the best ground, from the experience of the past, to look with satisfaction to the present, and with confidence to the future.—*Nunc demum redit animus, cum non spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam et robur assumpserit.*

On the 29th of the same month, Mr. Whitbread moved three resolutions conveying a censure upon the ministers for their conduct in the Russian controversy. The subject is now so little interesting that we shall content ourselves with stating that after a debate of two days, in which the leaders of the opposition and Mr. Fox, in particular, displayed the most animated powers, Mr. Pitt succeeded so well in satisfying the house, that the motion was rejected by a division of 244 against 118.

An association had been recently established, the declared object of which was to procure what is commonly called a reform in parliament, and to shorten the period of its duration. Several respectable members of the house of commons patronized this association, which assumed the title of "The Friends of the People," and lent it the

credit of their names. Lord Lauderdale, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan, were said to be the principal founders and directors of it. It was in consequence of a resolution, which was adopted by this society, that Mr. Grey came forward with a notice of his intention to move for a parliamentary reform at some period in the subsequent session. Mr. Pitt observed that if ever there were a time, when the subject of a parliamentary reform ought not to be agitated, the present was that period. The part which he had himself formerly acted upon a similar occasion, was well known to the house. When he had himself proposed a parliamentary reform, the complexion of the times was different in every respect from what it then was. Real grievances were practically felt, and a direct contrariety existed between the opinions of the people. The country was in a state of actual distress, a national bankruptcy dreaded, and the public mind almost bordering on absolute despair. In this situation, something he had conceived, ought to be attempted to counteract such alarming evils, by restoring to the people that confidence in parliament which they seemed to have lost. A parliamentary reform had appeared to him adequate to such an effect; a measure which at the time would have satisfied the nation, and was not likely to have gone beyond its declared object. The case, he remarked, at present was widely different. By the blessing of Providence we enjoyed an unexampled state of political happiness; and the gloom which had brooded over the public mind, had completely dispersed. It was impossible by any attempt at reform to make the nation easier or happier. On the other hand much real evil might attend it; the security of all the blessings we possessed might be shaken to the very foundation. For such was the temper of too many reformers out of doors, that moderate measures were not likely to satisfy them; they wished not to preserve, but to subvert the constitution. Such were his principal objections to the time when this subject was brought forward;—objections, which he thought sufficiently accounted for the altered line of conduct he proposed to pursue, still retaining his opinion of the propriety of a parliamentary reform, whenever it might seem attainable without danger or mischief. He complained that instead of coming forward at once with some specific proposition on the subject, Mr. Grey had given an indistinct notice, which would naturally agitate the public mind for a considerable period, and set to work many dangerous and designing theorists. Of this latter description he conceived some of that society to be, with which he grieved to find a man of Mr. Grey's talents and character unhappily connected. The aim of such people was nothing less than to destroy the British constitution, and to erect on its ruins that mad system which had been misnamed liberty in another country. Notwithstanding the informality of the proceeding, the debate was carried to a considerable length, several members strongly expressed their disapprobation of the society in which the measure had originated. Lord North and Mr. Windham, in particular, sided on this occasion with Mr. Burke, and opposed the arguments of their friends in opposition.

It was now that the great difference of opinion which led to the ultimate division of the members of opposition took place. The

societies denominated "The Friends of the People," the corresponding societies and other "affiliated" clubs were in their utmost activity employing all the arts of the press to assail every class of men with addresses to their passions, their prejudices, or their interests. The Rights of Man, by Thomas Paine, was particularly pressed into circulation. About the same period, the members of the revolution society published their proceedings and correspondence. In these the revolution of France was not only praised in general terms, but that leading maxim of it, the sacred duty of insurrection, particularly applauded. Our revolution in 1688, was considered as imperfect. The final completion of this glorious work, it was said, was only to be hoped from an imitation of the conduct of France, and our specific grievances, were stated to be "royal prerogatives injurious to the public interest, a servile peerage, a rapacious and intolerant clergy, and a corrupt representation."

On the 11th of May Mr. Fox moved for the repeal of some particular statutes against the dissenters. Mr. Pitt opposed the measure, as it seemed acknowledged on all hands, that no practical evils had ever happened, or were likely to happen, from the laws in question, and as danger might possibly accrue from the repeal of them, the motion was negatived by a majority of 79. The royal proclamation against the dispersion of seditious writings was now issued, and being laid before the house, and an address of approbation moved, it was opposed by Mr. Grey with much warmth, and the proclamation itself condemned in severe terms, as a measure insidious and pernicious. The "diligent enquiry," enjoined by the proclamation after the authors and distributors of wicked and seditious writings, could only tend to establish an odious and arbitrary system of espionage. Mr. G. strongly intimated his belief, that the real object of the proclamation was merely to discredit the late association in the view of the public. This Mr. Pitt disclaimed in very explicit terms; and expressed his high respect for many of the association in question, declaring "that he differed from them only in regard to the time and mode which they had adopted for the attainment of their object." The association in question, he said, did not come within the scope and purview of the proclamation, which was levelled against the daring and seditious principles which had been so assiduously propagated amongst the people, under the plausible and delusive appellation of the Rights of Man. Several members of opposition, particularly the Marquis of Fitchfield, Lord North, Mr. Windham and Mr. Anstruther, delivered their sentiments in support of the address, impressed with the persuasion that a line of conduct had lately been adopted in this country, which required the utmost attention and interference of government.

On two occasions in the upper house, the Lord Chancellor Thurlow had not only opposed ministry, but employed even invective; the breach in the administration became irreparable: Mr Pitt, therefore, was said to have insisted, that either he or Lord Thurlow should be dismissed from the king's service. The great seal was accordingly demanded, the very day that parliament rose, and put into the custody

of three commissioners, the principal of whom was chief Baron Eyre. Two cabinet offices being now, in effect, vacant, the minister, it was reported, signified an inclination for a junction with that branch of the opposition, which had concurred in the important measure of the proclamation. It was likewise added, that, seriously alarmed at the state of the nation and of Europe, and anxious to combine all the abilities of the country for the general safety, he did not object to include Mr. Fox in the arrangement, which was understood to have been particularly pressed by Mr. Burke, who, since the concert that had been established between government and the old leaders of the whig party on the subject of the proclamation, was known to have had more frequent and free intercourse with the ministers. In consequence of this overture, negotiations were represented to have taken place, but finally to have proved abortive, from the obstacles to an arrangement which were started on the part of Mr. Fox, who would only consent to the proposed union, on the condition that Mr. Pitt should relinquish the high situation he then held, to be more on a level with him in office, while the Duke of Portland, or at least, some neutral person, should be appointed to the treasury; a condition, which was rejected on the part of the minister. The friends of Mr. Fox, in talking of this unprosperous issue, asserted, that what he had demanded was no more than was indispensably necessary to his consistency, as being the same terms for which he had contended in the beginning of the year 1784; but the friends of Mr. Pitt answered, that he was as much entitled as Mr. Fox could be, to consult his own character; that admitting him to have been wrong (which they did not really mean to admit) in standing up in the prerogative of the crown, against the sense of the house of commons, and in refusing to be bound by that sense, as speaking the true voice of the people in 1784; yet he had then, by a dissolution, made a regular appeal to the people, and the decision was most clearly in his favor; that he had lately in a striking manner shewn himself to retain the public confidence, of the king and of parliament, including even many of the most respectable members of Mr. Fox's party; and as to the people at large, it was asked, if Mr. Fox would abide by the result of any new appeal to them; if not, what was the justice or equity of requiring, that Mr. Pitt should voluntarily forego all these advantages.—The former, in reply accused him of inordinate ambition, and the latter retorted the charge, observing that what Mr. Fox meant by his claim of perfect equality, was in truth, for the minister to have afforded him a complete triumph, by confessing himself in the wrong, and by humbling himself, to have gratified a personal jealousy, which if it existed at all, must have frustrated all the salutary effects otherwise to have been hoped from the projected coalition; Mr. Pitt, they added, by manifesting a readiness to share with his opponent, on terms not dishonorable to either party, that power of which he was in the entire and firm possession, gave the best proof, that he was sincere in preferring the interests of his country to any private ends of his own. On the 15th of June the session terminated with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty, mentioning the state of affairs in Europe, declared his own intention to observe a strict neutrality.

Mr. Pitt's plan for the administration of the Indian territories, executed under the direction of Mr. Dundas, had corrected abuses, restored prosperity, and extended revenue through British India.

The French revolution continued to engage the attention of Great Britain, but government still resolved to avoid all interference in the internal affairs of France. The French now declared war against Austria and Prussia. The king was deposed, the Scheldt was opened in contravention of sacred treaties.

During the recess of 1792, the public ferment greatly increased in this country. The efforts of the revolutionary emissaries became more strenuous in London, and in the other great cities. On the 7th of Nov. an address from several patriotic societies in England was presented at the bar of the convention, containing, in addition to the accustomed complimentary expressions, reflections upon the government and constitution of their own country. The president of the convention, in his answer used expressions full of respect and complacency; copies of the address were ordered to be sent to all the armies and departments of the republic. A royal proclamation was issued December 1, 1792, announcing "that notwithstanding the late proclamation of the 21st of May, the utmost industry was still employed by evil-disposed persons within the kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and constitution; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder thereby excited, had lately shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection; and that these causes moving him thereto, his Majesty had resolved forthwith to embody part of the militia of the kingdom." On the same day another proclamation was issued for convening the parliament (which stood prorogued to the 3d of Jan. 1793) on the 13th of December; the law requiring, that if the militia be drawn out during the recess of parliament, and this it can only be in case of invasion or actual insurrection, parliament shall be assembled within the space of fourteen days.

On the 13th of December parliament was assembled; and the king stated his various reasons for his present measures. Notwithstanding the strict neutrality which he had uniformly observed in the wars now raging on the continent, he could not, without concern, observe the strong indications of an intention in the French to excite disturbances in other countries; to pursue views of conquest and aggrandisement, inconsistent with the balance of Europe, to disregard the rights of neutral powers; and to adopt towards his allies the states general, measures neither conformable to the public law, nor to the positive articles of existing treaties, he had therefore found it necessary to make some augmentation of his army and navy.

Notwithstanding the facts already detailed, Mr. Fox, at the head of a small but able band, ridiculed and reprobated the apprehension of any tendency towards revolution existing in the people of this country. Mr. Pitt being absent, in consequence of his having vacated his seat by the acceptance of the wardenship of the cinque ports, till now held by the Earl of Guilford (Lord North). Mr. Burke was the principal opponent to Mr. Fox in parliament. Mr. B. insisted that preventive policy was necessary to the salvation of the country. We

pass over any further historical relation of events till the discussion of the alien bill on the fourth of Jan 1793. Mr Pitt's speeches upon this and a subsequent motion for an address to the king, while they explain all the transactions of the time, will illustrate more peculiarly his own powers of mind and the sentiments he entertained on passing events.

Upon the alien bill, he said, that he felt himself called upon to speak on the present occasion, though from the circumstance of his absence on former debates, the ground of discussion had already been pre-occupied. A right honorable gentleman, Mr. Fox, had assumed as a principle, that no bill of this sort ought to be brought forward, except upon some ground of positive circumstances upon which it was founded being stated in the preamble. If he was called upon to state the particular ground upon which the bill was founded, the only difficulty which he should find, was, that these grounds were in themselves far greater than the magnitude of the measure. If he should only state, that by some extraordinary occurrence, some unforeseen and inevitable calamity of nature, great numbers of foreigners had come into this country without the means of subsistence, without being brought for any purposes of commerce, or without any possibility of discrimination, even this he should consider as affording a sufficient object of jealousy and attention, but when it appeared that these came from a country whose principles were inimical to the peace and order of every other government, and though many of them, no doubt, had fled here in order to find a refuge from the sword of persecution, there was but too much reason to suspect, among these had mingled emissaries for prey, regard for our own interests, and for the safety of the country, enforced the necessity of peculiar vigilance. In addition to all these circumstances, we find that in the councils of that country, from which these persons had come, there had been adopted a system of propagating, by every means of art and force, principles inimical to the government of every country, and that they were now actually carrying on a war against the established government of other countries, under the specious pretext of promoting the cause of freedom: but he now came to the climax of all. In this country itself there had been found persons who proposed the same principles with those maintained in the councils of that neighboring state, and held out the model of their government as an object of applause and imitation; who had industriously propagated, and publicly avowed, that they acted with them in concert; that they had held a correspondence with affiliated societies of jacobins; they had presented addresses to the convention, and had there been received, encouraged and cherished, and had in return met with offers of fraternity and succour. Was there then not reason to suppose, that persons might have been sent to this country, with a view of carrying on that concert. Was not this obvious to the understanding and feeling of every honorable gentleman present. Yet after all that had been stated, there are some who pretend to tell us that they fear no internal alarm, that they see no cause of danger. Notwithstanding the general sentiments of the country and of that house, they have the hardihood to treat the whole as the effect of ministerial artifice.

Had ministerial artifice made those who had hitherto acted upon a system of opposition, now concur in the opinion of this danger? Had it made all the members in that house, except ten or fifteen, agree in the same sentiment? He should now shortly point out what were the leading circumstances of the present time. What had they seen? They had seen within two or three years a revolution in France, founded upon principles which were inconsistent with our own, and with every regular government; which were hostile to hereditary monarchy, to nobility, to all the privileged orders, and to every sort of popular representation short of that, which would give to every individual a voice in the election of representatives. Writings had been published in this country, holding out this government as an object of envy, and model of imitation, decrying every other form of government as founded in injustice and inconsistent with the unalienable right of man; representing this new scheme as holding out relief to the poor, inculcating a more pure and simple system of morals and enlarging the circle of social happiness.

How far it deserved this character its own practice would best prove. Societies had been formed in different manufacturing towns in this country, upon the model of the jacobin societies in France, where the utmost art and industry had been employed to inflame the passions and mislead the judgment of the lower classes, and where the doctrines inculcated might be supposed to be attended with the worst effect. These societies carried on correspondence with the societies and councils of France, and received from them invitations of support. In addition to all this, we have seen a code of the laws of nations adopted in France, hostile to every other government, a system of anarchy and ambition, setting at defiance all regular authority, and treating as unlawful every thing which has been sanctioned by the laws of other countries. Their new code of the laws of nations went to establish their government wherever they should carry their arms. As their ambition was unbounded, so the anarchy, which they hoped to establish, was universal. From the conduct which they had already exhibited, a judgment might be formed of the future course which they would pursue. Under the specious pretext of promoting the cause of freedom, they had shewn no scruple to annex the territories of their neighbours to their own dominions, and to force upon the inhabitants of the countries which they had entered, that freedom which they were unwilling to receive, and of which, certainly the state of their own country did not afford a very flattering specimen. Their own declarations had shewn that their views were not confined to particular countries, that their object was every where to propagate their own system by all the means which art, industry, or force could supply. When there were men in this country connected with a people actuated by such principles, and pursuing such a system, it surely became a matter of the most serious consideration. Such being the state of circumstances, he put it to the hearts, consciences, judgments and understandings of gentlemen present, whether there was not serious ground of alarm? Such was the general view of affairs; combined with which, there was a necessity of taking some measure against that influx of foreigners which had poured into the country.

While all that house and all the country agree with respect to the existence of danger, there were ten or fifteen members who completely denied it; but even these could not agree with regard to the degree of its non-existence. In this respect, they were inconsistent with themselves. A right honorable gentleman (Mr. Fox) who, though he had spoken last, was first to be attended to; though he disapproved of the principles upon which the French acted—though afraid of the progress of their arms, was not afraid of the progress of their opinions in this country. On this score he apprehends nothing, though it was particularly the interest, and had always been the policy of the French to sow divisions in those countries, against which they entertained views of hostility—a policy which, in the present instance, could not be better answered than by propagating their sentiments. The opinions that right honorable gentleman had stated, were not to be opposed by force; they were to be resisted, first by neglect and contempt, the mode of which he seemed most to approve; secondly, by argument and reasoning; and last, by prosecution, which, however, he did not greatly commend. He would only ask, what sort of opinions were those to which the right honorable gentleman had alluded. Serious and conscientious opinions, founded upon sober and dispassionate reasoning, he would own, had a claim to the utmost indulgence, and ought always to be treated with deference; but surely, with regard to wild and violent notions, assuming the name of opinions, but tending by overt acts to overturn every established government, and to introduce anarchy and confusion, a different mode of conduct was to be observed. Those opinions which the French entertained were of the most dangerous nature; they were opinions produced by interest, inflamed by passion, propagated by delusion, which their successes had carried to the utmost excess, and had contributed to render still more dangerous. For, would the right honorable gentleman tell him that the French opinions received no additional weight from the success of their armies? Was it possible to separate between the progress of their opinions and the success of their arms? It was evident that the one must influence the other, and that the diffusion of their principles must keep pace with the extent of their victories. He was not afraid of the progress of the French principles in this country, unless the defence of the country should previously be undermined by the introduction of these principles. A noble lord (Earl Wycombe) had said, that if a war should take place, the blame of that war must entirely belong to ministers. He would here beg to refer to the conduct of France. It had first denied the obligation of a treaty, which, though sometimes called absolute, had been considered as the corner stone of the balance of Europe, and repeatedly renewed; which had been coeval with the establishment of Dutch freedom, and was, in fact, necessary to the existence of the independence of Holland—a treaty in which France could have no concern, except in fulfilment of its own stipulation, to guard it against infringement; and which could only be a matter of question between the sovereign of the Dutch republic and the sovereign of the Austrian Netherlands. France could only have one of two motives for interference—either as assuming to act as sovereign

of the Netherlands, or because she has proclaimed a new code of the law of nations, by which she presumes to dictate to every country, and to model every government by her own standard. Could we then, in this country, without resigning the spirit of independent Britons, and the faith due to an ally, submit to so insolent and unjust a claim as that of opening the Scheldt on the part of the French? But they affected, upon their present system, to despise all treaties, and to regard the one in question as extorted by avarice, and consented to through despotism. The second circumstance to which he should call their attention was, the decree of the 19th of November. By this decree, the French engaged to assist all people in procuring their freedom—such a freedom, he supposed, as they themselves enjoyed. We have seen, said he, French freedom in definition, we have seen it in illustration, and have now an opportunity to compare the theory with the practice. Their conduct in Flanders afforded a specimen of the nature of their freedom. They had there endeavoured to propagate their doctrine, but finding the inhabitants not disposed to give them so favourable a reception as they could have wished, they had taken the method of inculcating opinions of freedom by force. Their general had issued a proclamation, that whoever should not embrace the tree of liberty, should be cut off as a wretch unfit to live. The noble lord talked of their having given an explanation with respect to this decree. What sort of explanation had they given? They had stated that it was not their intention to assist a few individuals, but only to interfere in cases where a great majority of the people should be disposed to shake off their government: so that, in fact, it was their intention to promote rebellion in other countries, and to declare war against all established governments. This sort of war was an inexorable war against all legitimate power, and which was only to terminate in its extinction. Formerly the splendour of conquest had, in some measure, been pursued with a respect which had been paid to the government and rights of the conquered. The Romans were careful to preserve the government, the habits, and customs of the nations which they had vanquished, considering that as the best security for their conquests. For the present age had been reserved the idea of a war of extirpation—a war which should tend to annihilate whatever had been held most dear, or found most valuable. This was a sort of war which had never been carried on even by despots, and which was only exemplified in the conduct of those modern republicans, who held out a system of what they called freedom and happiness. One honorable gentleman (Major Maitland) had declared, that the whole of the danger which had been held out, and the consequent alarm which had been excited in the country, was a mere delusion, effected by the artifices of ministry. That honorable gentleman had, at the same time, stated, that the uniform misconduct of ministry since they came into power, was sufficient to have occasioned all the mischiefs which had been described, and to bring any country into a state of the greatest calamity. If this was the case, he, for one, could not but rejoice, that all these mischiefs, and all this calamity, amounted to nothing more than delusion. In reply to the Marquis of Titchfield, who had accused ministers of tardiness, Mr. P. asserted, that it was

not till very lately the proceedings had assumed sufficient importance to justify ministerial interference. It was curious that other gentlemen in opposition had brought a directly contrary charge, by accusing ministers of too great precipitation. It was only the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, and the success of the French arms, with the consequences that had followed, events so rapid and unexpected, which it was impossible to foresee, and which defied even the smallest conjecture, that rendered the danger so imminent, and the necessity of preparations so urgent on the part of this country. It was not till lately that the opening of the Scheldt had occurred, an infringement of the stipulations of treaties, and an invasion of our allies, the Dutch, which rendered it absolutely necessary for this country to interfere, more especially as it seemed to open the way for farther violations of treaty, and more extended acquisitions of conquest. It was not till the 19th of November that the decree had passed, which menaced hostility to every government, and the principles of which every nation in Europe was interested to oppose. He trusted it would appear from attention to these circumstances, that as soon as the danger could be ascertained, measures had been taken to meet it, and that there had been no want of vigilance, precaution, and activity, on the part of ministers. He trusted that they would all concur to meet the present emergency by suitable measures, to obviate the danger by the most effectual means which could be devised, and unite their strength for two great objects—the safety of the country and support of the constitution. The bill was then read a third time, and passed.

On the 24th of January, 1793, intelligence arrived in London of the melancholy catastrophe of Louis XVI. His majesty immediately notified to Mr. Chauvelin, that the character with which he had been invested at the British court, and of which the functions had been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the death of his most christian majesty, he had no longer any public character here, and that within eight days he must quit the kingdom. The French rulers finding Britain inflexibly determined on adherence to the right of independent nations, by a decree of the convention of the 1st of February, 1793, declared war against Great Britain with acclamation, and soon after against Holland, which their forces were ready to invade. Upon the very same day that France declared war against Great Britain, the British parliament was engaged in discussing a message from the king, concerning the papers which had passed between M. Chauvelin and the minister for foreign affairs. On this occasion Mr. Pitt, who had now resumed his seat in parliament, made an eloquent harangue. Adverting, at the commencement of the speech, to the melancholy catastrophe which had just taken place in France: he represented it “as an event so full of grief and horror, that he wished it were possible to tear it from their memories, and expunge it from the page of history, and remove it for ever from the observation and comments of mankind;—but that event was unfortunately passed, and the present age must be forever contaminated with the guilt and ignominy of having witnessed it. In this dreadful transaction they saw concentrated the effect of those principles, pushed to their

utmost extent, which set out with dissolving all the bands by which society was held together—principles established in opposition to every law human and divine, and which, presumptuously relying on the authority of wild and delusive theories, rejected all the advantages of the wisdom and experience of former ages, and even the sacred instructions of revelation. While, therefore, he directed their attention to this transaction, he paid not only a tribute to humanity, but he suggested to them a subject of much useful reflection. No consideration indeed could be more connected with a country like this, or of a greater importance, than what tended to avert such transactions as had taken place in that neighbouring state. Here, where a monarch formed an essential part of the government, clothed with inviolability which was essential to the exercise of the sovereign power; where the legislature was composed of a mixture of democracy and aristocracy; and where, by the benefits of this system, we had been exempted from those mischiefs which in former ages had been produced by despotism, and which were only to be exceeded by those still more horrid evils which in the present time had been found to be the fruits of licentiousness and anarchy. Mr. Pitt now proceeded to remark on the different papers which had been laid on the table, and printed for the use of the members. It would appear from the first paper that the system on which his Majesty had uniformly acted, was founded on the very principles which had afterwards dictated the necessity of his making preparations. His majesty had declined taking any part in the internal government of France, and had made a positive declaration to that effect. When he took that wise, generous and disinterested resolution, he had reason to expect that the French would in return have respected the rights of himself and his allies, and most of all, that they would not have attempted any internal interference in this country. A paper on the table contained on their part a positive contract to abstain from any of those acts by which they had provoked the indignation of this country. In this paper they disclaimed all views of aggrandizement; they gave assurances of their good conduct to neutral nations; they protested against their entertaining an idea of interfering in the government of the country, or making any attempts to excite insurrection; upon the express ground (stated in the paper) that such interference and such attempts would be a violation of the law of nations, they had themselves, by anticipation, passed sentence upon their own conduct; and the event of this discussion would decide, whether that sentence would be confirmed by those who had actually been injured. During the whole summer, while France had been engaged in the wars with Austria and Prussia, his Majesty had in no shape departed from the neutrality which he had engaged to observe, nor did he, by the smallest act, give any reason to suspect his adherence to that system. But what, he would ask, was the conduct of the French. The first instance of their success in Savoy had been sufficient to unfold the plan of their ambition. They had immediately adopted the course to annex it for ever to their own dominions, and had displayed a resolution to do the same, wherever they should carry their arms. That they might not leave any doubt of their intentions, by a formal de-

cree, they had stated their plan of overturning every government, and substituting their own; they threatened destruction to all who should not be inclined to adopt their system of freedom, and by a horrid mockery, offered fraternization; where it was refused, they were determined to employ force, and to propagate their principles where they should fail to gain assent, by the mouths of cannon. They established, in the instructions to the commissioners whom they appointed to enforce the decree, with respect to the countries entered by their armies, a standing revolutionary order, that instituted a system of organizing disorganization. And what was the reason which they assigned for all this? "The period of freedom," said they, "must soon come; we must then endeavour, by all means in our power, to accomplish it now; for should this freedom be accomplished by other nations, what then will become of us?" for justly might they entertain doubts of their safety. They had rendered the Netherlands a province, in substance as well as name entirely dependant on France. That system, pursued by the Jacobin societies, in concert with their correspondents, had given a more fatal blow to liberty, than any which it had ever suffered from the boldest attempts of the most aspiring monarch.

What had been the circumstances which had attended the triumphal entry of General Dumourier? Demonstrations of joy inspired by terror, illuminations imperiously demanded by an armed force. And when the primary assembly met to deliberate, in what circumstances did they assemble? with the tree of liberty planted amidst them, and surrounded by a hollow square of French soldiers; a situation surely equally conducive to the ease of their own thoughts, and the freedom of their public deliberations. And what had happened even since the French had professed their intention of evacuating the territories which they had entered, at the conclusion of the war? a deputation had been received from Hainault, requesting that it might be added as an eighty-fifth department. And how had this deputation been received? Had the request been rejected? No, it had only been postponed till a committee should be able to prepare instructions, how those nations, who should be desirous of the same union, should be able to incorporate themselves with France in a regular and formal manner, till the preliminaries should be settled by which it should subject to its government, and add to its territories, every country which should be so unfortunate as to experience the force of its arms, and give to its wild and destructive ambition only the same limits with those of its power. It was matter of serious consideration, how far such a conduct not only ought to rouse the indignation, but might tend to affect the interests of this country. To shew how the French had behaved with respect to neutral nations, he need only refer to their decree of the 19th of November, which had already been so often mentioned and so amply discussed. He then read that passage in which the French grant fraternity to all those people who should be desirous to gain their freedom, and offer them assistance for that purpose. By the bye, he remarked, that to grant fraternity was a curious state of equality, and that none might be at a loss to know to whom the French nation were disposed to

grant this relationship of younger brothers, they had ordered the decree to be printed in all languages, by which it might be perceived, that they intended the favour for all nations who chose to accept of it. Some pretended explanations had indeed been given of this decree; but of all these explanations he should say nothing but what had already been stated by the noble secretary of state, that they contained only an avowal and a repetition of the offence. The whole of their language, institutes, and conduct, had been directed to the total subversion of every government. To monarchy particularly they had testified the most decided aversion, and so violent was their enmity that they could be satisfied with nothing less than its entire extermination. The bloody sentence, which the hand of the assassin had lately carried into execution against their own monarch, was passed against the sovereigns of all countries. Were not their principles intended to be applied in their effects to this government? No society in this country, however small in number, however contemptible, however even questionable in existence, had sent addresses to their assembly, in which they had expressed sentiments of sedition and treason, which had not been received with a degree of theatrical extravagance, and cherished with all the enthusiasm of congenial feeling. Need he then ask, if England was not aimed at by this conduct, and if it alone was to be exempted from the consequences of a system, the profession of which was anarchy, and which seemed to aspire to establish universal dominion upon the ruin of every government? From what had passed in a former part of the evening, he understood that it would be urged that the Dutch had made no formal requisition for the support of this country, in order to resist the opening of the Scheldt by the French, and to enable them to maintain their right to the exclusive navigation of that river. He granted that no such formal requisition had been made. But might there not be prudential reasons for not making this requisition on their part, very different from those which should induce this country to withhold its support. When the French opened the Scheldt, the Dutch entered their solemn protest against that invasion of their rights, which left them at liberty, at any time, to take it up as an act of hostility. If, from the sudden progress of the French arms and the circumstance of their forces being at their very door, they either from prudence or fear, did not think proper to take it up as an immediate commencement of hostilities—because they had been timid, would England think itself at liberty to leave its allies, already involved in a situation of imminent danger to that certain ruin to which they were exposed in consequence of a system, the principles of which threatened also destruction to England, Europe, and to the whole of mankind! Thus in all those three assurances which they had given of their intention to reject any system of aggrandizement, to abstain from interfering in the government of any neutral country, and to respect the rights of his majesty and of his allies, they had entirely failed, and in every respect completely reversed that line of conduct which they had so solemnly pledged themselves to adopt. Whatever they had offered under the name of explanations, contained nothing that either offered any compensation for the past, or was at all

satisfactory with respect to the future. On the 27th of December M. Chauvelin, on the part of the executive council, had presented the note complaining of the decree of the 19th of November. On the 31st of December, a member of that executive council, (minister of the marine) addressed a letter to all the friends of liberty in the sea ports; from which he would now read some passages. "The king and his parliament mean to make war against us. Will the English republicans suffer it? Already these freemen shew their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers, the French.—Well! we will fly to their succour—we will make a descent in the island—we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty—we will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren—the tyranny of their government will soon be destroyed." He called the attention of the house to this declaration, which distinguished the English people from the king and the parliament, and to the nature of that present which was meant to be made them. While such declarations were in force, what could be thought of any explanations which were pretended to be given, or what credit was due to the assertions, that they entertained no intentions hostile to the government of this country? From all these circumstances, he concluded, that the conduct and pretensions of the French were such as were neither consistent with the existence nor safety of this country, such as that house could not, and, he was confident, never would acquiesce in. Unless you will then recede from your principles, or they withdraw, a war must be the consequence—as to the time, the precise moment, he should not pretend to fix it—it would be left open to the last for any satisfactory explanation; but he should deceive them if he should say, that he thought any such explanation would be given, or that it was probable that a war could be avoided.

The intelligence of the French declaration of war having been received on the 11th of Feb. a message, announcing the war, was delivered to the house. He now came to state what had occurred since his majesty's last message; and to notice those grounds which had served as a pretence for the declaration of war. When his majesty had dismissed M. Chauvelin, what were then the hopes of peace? He was by no means sanguine in such hopes, and he had stated to the house, that he then saw but little probability that a war could be avoided. Still, however, the last moment had been kept open to receive any satisfactory explanation that might be offered; but what, it might be asked, was to be the mode of receiving such explanation. When his majesty had dismissed M. Chauvelin, eight days had been allowed him for his departure; and if during that period he had sent any more satisfactory explanation, still it would have been received. M. Chauvelin, however, instantly quitted the country, without making any proposition. Another agent had succeeded (M. Maret), who on his arrival in this country, had notified himself as the chargé d'affaires on the part of the French republic, but had never, during his residence in the kingdom, offered the smallest communication. What was the next event which had succeeded? an embargo was laid on all the vessels and persons of his majesty's subjects who were then

in France. This embargo was to be considered as not only a symptom, but as an act of hostility. It certainly had taken place without any notice having been given, contrary to treaty, and against all the laws of nations. Notwithstanding this violent and outrageous act, such was the disposition to peace in his majesty's ministers, that the channels of communication even after this period, were not shut. A most singular circumstance happened, which was the arrival of intelligence from his majesty's minister at the Hague, on the very day when the embargo became known here, that he had received an intimation from General Dumourier, that the general wished an interview, in order to see if it were yet possible to adjust the differences between the two countries, and to promote a general pacification. Instead of treating the embargo as an act of hostility, and forbearing from any communication, even after this aggression, his majesty's ministers, on the same day on which the embargo was made known to them, gave instructions to the ambassador at the Hague, to enter into a communication with General Dumourier. But before the answer of government could reach the ambassador, or any means be adopted for carrying the object proposed into execution, war was declared on the part of the French, against this country. He must again revert for a moment to the embargo. He then stated, that a detention of ships, if no ground of hostility has been given, is in the first place, contrary to the law of nations: in the second place, there was an actual treaty between the two countries, provided for this very circumstance; and this treaty (if not set aside by our breach of it, which he should come to presently,) expressly said, that "in case of a rupture time shall be given for the removal of persons and effects." Mr. Pitt then entered into an examination of the articles of the French declaration, which he proved to consist of the weakest pretences. Of all the reasons he ever heard for making war against another country, that of the French upon this occasion, was the most extraordinary: they said they would make war on us—first, because we loved our own constitution; secondly, because we detested their proceedings: and lastly, because we presumed to grieve at the death of their murdered king. Thus would they even destroy those principles of justice, and those sentiments of compassion, which led to reprobate their crimes, and to be afflicted at their cruelties. Thus would they deprive us of that last resource of humanity, to mourn over the misfortunes and sufferings of the victims of their injustice, they would not only endeavour to destroy our political existence, and to deprive us of the privileges which we enjoyed as subjects of the most excellent constitution, but they would eradicate our feelings as men; they would make crimes of the sympathies which were excited by the distresses of our common nature; they would repress our sighs and restrain our tears. He now came to his conclusion—we, said he, have, in every instance, observed the strictest neutrality with respect to the French: we have pushed, to its utmost extent, the system of temperance and moderation; we have held out the means of accommodation; we have waited till the last moment for satisfactory explanation. These means of accommodation have been slighted and abused, and all along there has appeared no disposition to give any satisfactory explanation,—

They have now, at last, come to an actual aggression, by seizing our vessels in our very ports, without any provocation given on our part; without any preparations having been adopted but those of necessary precaution, they have declared, and are now waging war. Such is the conduct which they have pursued; such is the situation in which we stand. It now remains to be seen whether, under Providence, the efforts of a free, brave, loyal, and happy people, aided by their allies, will not be successful in checking the progress of a system, the principles of which, if not opposed, threaten the most fatal consequences to the tranquillity of this country, the security of its allies, the good order of every European government, and the happiness of the whole human race. Messrs. Fox, Burke and Sheridan spoke, and the first gentleman moved an amendment; the address was, however, voted without a division.

On the 18th, Mr Fox moved five resolutions, the grounds of which were—first, objection to a war with France, for the purpose of suppressing any opinions that prevailed there, however injurious their tendency; second, that the alleged grounds of war were not, in the first instance, justifiable; third, that ministers had not used means likely to obtain redress without a rupture; fourth, that ministers had neglected to recognize the principles they held against France, in the case of Poland; and fifth, that ministers ought to forbear to recommend any measures which might prevent the conclusion of a separate peace. A debate, not less vehement than the former, took place; and upon a division, the members appeared to be 270 who voted for the previous question, against 44, who supported the motion. On the 21st of February, Mr. Grey moved an address, containing a comprehensive view of the whole subject-matter of dispute; it concluded with stating, that the calamities of such a war as was now commenced, a war of vengeance and not of necessity, must be aggravated, in the estimation of every rational mind, by reflecting on the peculiar advantages of that fortunate situation we had so unwisely abandoned. Mr Pitt replied in a few words, declaring that this subject required no further discussion. The motion of Mr. Grey was immediately negatived without a division. On the 4th of March, Mr. Sheridan proposed that an enquiry should be instituted into the alleged sedition, and declared his disbelief of the ministerial representations. In answer to Mr. Sheridan's requisition, it was argued, that government had not asserted the existence of plots, to be established by proof, for judicial animadversion, but of a seditious spirit and operations, which required deliberative precaution and the most vigilant care to prevent them from maturing into plots and insurrections. From a combination of various and disconnected circumstances, a man might receive a moral certainty of a general fact, which ought to regulate his conduct, though he might have no proof of such a fact sufficient to establish it before a magistrate. The active circulation of seditious writings, the proceedings and declarations of the innovating societies; the public and avowed sentiments of great numbers in favour of the French system, as a model for this country, concurred in manifesting the existence of a spirit which it became the legislature and government to repress. and Mr. Sheridan's motion was negatived by a very numerous majority.

On the 6th of May, Mr. Grey made his motion for a reform in parliament, various petitions had been received. Mr. G's observations were necessarily interspersed with personal animadversions on Mr. Pitt's affirmed change of conduct. Mr. Pitt said, "I feel more particularly anxious, on account of the share which I have had in agitating the question of parliamentary reform, to state fully and distinctly the reasons which induce me to resist the motion which is now brought forward. Last session, I considered the agitation of the question as capable of producing much mischief, and likely to be attended with no good. Such was the conclusion which I formed from experience. I had myself, on different occasions, proposed a reform, in situations which seemed favourable to my object, and supported by persons of the highest respectability, and had even then failed. Several gentlemen from a dread of the consequences of innovation, and from a doubt whether the advantage to be obtained was such as would compensate for the risk incurred, opposed my views. If such arguments had formerly succeeded, how much force had they last year acquired from the dreadful lesson afforded in the example of neighbouring kingdoms! The scene of horrors which it then presented, exceeded imagination, far short as it stopped of what has since occurred. I perceived forming within the bosom of the country, a small but not contemptible party, who aspired at something more than a moderate reform, whose object, indeed, was nothing less than to introduce here those French principles, which, from their consequences, I could not regard but with horror. I saw therefore, that while none of that good of which a moderate reform might be productive, was to be obtained, much danger might be incurred, and an opening afforded to wicked persons to subvert that very constitution which we were desirous to improve, only in order that we might preserve. I thus found the probability of good, small; while the mischief was of a size so gigantic as to exceed calculation. And upon this reasoning, even if I had rated as high as ever the advantages of a reform, and had seen a greater probability than had hitherto appeared of accomplishing such a reform, I would rather have abandoned my object than have incurred or increased the danger. But it was alleged that this was precisely the time to bring forward a moderate reform, as the best means to quiet violent spirits, and the surest remedy against ruinous innovation. The gentlemen who now come forward in the cause of parliamentary reform, I have no doubt, were encouraged, in their first exertions, by the hope that they should be enabled to overcome the violent spirits, and that moderate men, who might otherwise have been misled, would be induced to join their standard. I have learned from their publications, that they not only proposed to guide the minds of the people, but also to be guided by them, and that they were resolved to drop their views if they should find that they did not meet with a pretty general concurrence. Such was the situation of the business at the last session; another year has now passed in France, disgraced with excesses and outrages so horrid, that they efface the memory of those which formerly occurred, and leave of them only the faint traces, and the image hardly visible. The French had disclosed a system of disseminating their principles, and procuring

proselytes in every part of Europe, a system which they had particularly followed up with respect to this country. Such was the case without—what was the situation of affairs within? Societies had been formed in this country, affiliated with the Jacobin clubs in France; and though they had since assumed a different shape, were then employed for the purpose of spreading Jacobin principles. In this object they proceeded with a degree of boldness and confidence, proportioned to the success of the French arms. We thus beheld the scheme which we had anticipated as the result of the new constitutions in France opening upon us. We had more immediately an opportunity of seeing what were the views of the legislators of France with respect to this country, and what their instruments in England were endeavouring to effect. For while in France, they always mentioned the pretext of a reform, as the medium by which they were to introduce their principles, their instruments here always took care to connect the system of parliamentary reform with all those delusive doctrines, upon which was founded the newly-raised fabric of French freedom. Nothing less than a national convention was held out as a sufficient remedy for the abuses which prevailed in the representation, and the sole organ through which a more perfect form of government was to be obtained, namely, such a government as should acknowledge no other source of authority and no other rule of conduct, than the will of the majority. In short, French principles were inculcated as the true standard of political belief, and the example of the French government proposed as a worthy object of imitation. I now proceed to events of a more recent date. The admirers of French policy in this country felt a depression of spirits from the defeat of their friends and allies, which, for a time, gave a fatal blow to their hopes, and compelled them to conceal their views, and to assume a veil of caution, but ill-suited to the ardour of their temper, and the boldness of their enterprise. But though they had thus been forced, for a while, to relinquish their schemes, it was not to be presumed from this that they had by any means abandoned them—no! they still meditated the same plans, and only lay by to watch for an opportunity favourable to the accomplishment of their designs. For that purpose, they had looked particularly to the question of parliamentary reform. Previous to the bringing forward the present motion, a great number of petitions had been presented to the house, equally singular in their form, expression, and the manner in which they had thus been submitted to notice. They had been introduced under the auspices of the gentlemen who supported the motion. They were all of three descriptions, except that one upon which the motion was more particularly founded, and a petition from Nottingham, conceived in exactly the same terms with one which had been received from that place in 1782. When it had first been received, it came after a long war, which had harassed and exhausted the country, and the calamities of which, it stated as a proper ground for a reform of parliament: unfortunately it still employed the same language, and gave the same description of the country, after a long and prosperous peace. All these petitions came from places in England and Scotland, that seemed to have no national

connection or likelihood of communication. Yet, coming from these different places, they were all the same in substance, and nearly the same in stile; whatever little difference there might be in the expression, they seemed all to proceed from the same hands. All of them were the same in prayer; they concurred in praying for the right of universal suffrage, as the basis of that reform which they desired. With respect to those petitions, two questions arise; first, what weight they ought to have with the house, and how far they ought to be allowed to go in influencing their judgment; and secondly, whether this is a season proper for the consideration of that object which they claim, and favourable to a temperate reform. On the first point, when petitions came to the house, fabricated in appearance, similar as to substance and expression, it did not require much time to determine in what point of view they were to be considered. There was every reason to suspect that they were the work of a few individuals. They had certainly much more the appearance of the design of a few individuals, than of the general expression of the sentiments of the country. If it was asked, then, what weight they ought to have, the answer was easy—none. The fraud was too gross and palpable, and it was evident from what quarter they came, and with what views they were presented. But what are the grounds upon which they now bring forward this question of reform?—First they state, that from the general burst of loyalty expressed by the nation upon the first alarm, there is no reason to fear that the people will pass beyond the bounds of discretion, and that no season can be more favourable for a temperate reform than that in which they have so strongly testified their attachment to the established order of things and their reluctance to any change. Of this temper they recommend to us to take the advantage. But how stands the case? The fact, I grant, is, indeed, true. But it is also true, that societies in this country have been anxiously seeking not to obtain reform, but to find cause of dissatisfaction, not to allay the violence of innovation but to influence discontent. Is it then out of deference to that small party, actuated by such principles, and pursuing such a line of conduct, that we are to grant a reform, and not out of respect to the great body of the people of England, animated by a spirit of the purest loyalty and too much attached to the blessings of the constitution and the present government, to wish to hazard them by a change? What then is the question at issue? It is the same question which is now at issue with the whole of Europe, who are contending for the cause of order, of justice, of humanity, of religion, in opposition to anarchy, to injustice, to cruelty, to infidelity. Are we to yield then to the clamours of dissatisfaction and discontent? and are we to disregard the voice of satisfaction and gratitude? are we, in order to gratify the caprice, or sooth the insolence of a few disaffected, to neglect the benefit of the common body? Are we, at a moment of emergency like this, when the great cause of all is at stake, to suspend our cares for the public welfare and attend to the discussion of petty claims, and the redress of imaginary grievances? Are we, at such a moment, in order to please a few individuals, to hazard the consequence of producing alarm and distrust in the general body, firm and

united in the common cause? I shall not proceed to remark on the precise nature of the motion itself. The motion is, to refer to a committee one of those petitions for a reform which have been presented to the house. Whether the honorable gentleman who made the motion means likewise to refer them all, is a point of which I am not ascertained. (Mr Grey here nodded assent.) If he means to refer them all, my reasoning on the subject is reduced to a very short compass. Ought we to refer to a committee to deliberate on the measure of unlimited suffrage? The circumstance of having moved to refer the prayers of the petitions, without having pointed out any specific plan for obtaining their object, most clearly has a tendency to excite discontent, without affording the means of allaying it. Though I formerly moved for a general inquiry, I was afterwards convinced that it would be attended with no good effect, and abandoned the motion. I became sensible that there was no chance of obtaining any advantage but by bringing forward a specific proposition. If I thought so then, how much more must I now be confirmed in the same opinion? If any object is proposed for discussion, it ought to be specific. The contrary mode can tend only to perplex the discussion, and to render it productive of mischief. I shall now shortly observe on the manner of introducing this business. The honorable gentleman stated fairly and candidly, that he brought forward the present question, not on the ground of right, but of expediency.

I think so too. To talk of an abstracted right of equal representation, is absurd. It is to arrogate that right to one form of government, whereas Providence has accommodated the different forms of government to the different states of society in which they subsist. There are as many different rights as the causes which occur to diversify the modes of government. But though the honorable gentleman disclaimed the ground of general and abstracted right, he has so far enlarged his ground of expedience as to embrace the mode of reasoning, by which that wild theory is supported. He has declared himself ready to take even universal suffrage, that mode which he approves the least, rather than to suffer the constitution to remain as it is. I so far differ with him, that I would rather abandon what I conceived to be the best plan of reform, than risk the consequences of any hazard to the constitution, as it at present subsists. Can I then embark in the same committee with the honorable gentleman, while he rejects the only plan on which I have contended for reform, and is ready to give into that which he himself deems the worst? I must confess myself alarmed at the extent to which he carries his object, I see no probability of a temperate reform, and, if granted, it would not even answer the end for which it is demanded. So far from satisfying those who solicit it, it would only extend their views and multiply and encourage their claims; they want not a parliamentary reform for itself, but for something else, which they have in prospect. They consider it not as the end of their wishes, but the only means which may lead to their accomplishment. But here we are told, that by refusing this reform, we are acting upon the same principle by which we lost America, by not complying with the demands of that country. The Americans desired specific relief; they pointed out a definite object with which

they pledged themselves to be satisfied. Here no specific relief is demanded, no definite object is pointed out. You are desired to give what nobody asks; and to those who tell you, that even if you give it them they will not be satisfied; my plan went to give vigour and stability to the ancient principles of the constitution, and not to introduce into it any new principles. The merit of the British constitution is to be estimated, not by metaphysical ideas, not by vague themes, but by analysing it in practice. Its benefits are confirmed by the sure and infallible test of experience. In the history of the country, from the earliest period down to that in which I now speak, the number of electors have always been few, in proportion to that of the great body of the people. My plan went to regulate the distribution of the right of electing members, to add some and to transfer others: when such was my plan, am I to be told that I have been an advocate for parliamentary reform, as if I had espoused the same side of the question which is now taken up by these honorable gentlemen, and am now resisting that cause which I had formerly supported? I affirm that my plan is ten times more contrary to that of the right honorable gentleman than his to the constitution; nay, I go farther; I agree with the honorable gentleman (Mr. Windham) that to adopt the system now proposed, is to adopt the principle of the French code, and follow the example of their legislators. As these principles are unknown in the history of this country, it is to France only that we can look for their origin. The same principles which claim individual suffrage, and affirm that every man has an equal right to a share in the representation, is that which serves as the basis of that declaration of rights on which the French legislators have founded their government. We ought to recollect that there are 259 persons who possess an equal voice in the legislature with that of this house; that there is a king who, to the third of the legislature, adds the whole of the executive power; and if this principle of individual suffrage be granted, and be carried to its utmost extent, it goes to subvert the peerage, and to depose the king, and, in fine, to extinguish every hereditary distinction and every privileged order, and to establish that system of equalising anarchy announced in the code of French legislation, and attested in the blood of the massacres at Paris. The question then is, whether you will abide by your constitution or hazard a change, with all that dreadful train of consequences with which we have seen it attended in a neighbouring kingdom? Abide by your constitution, did I say? It cannot be necessary for me to add a word more. But I would not stop there if it were possible to go farther. If it were possible for an Englishman to forget his attachment to the constitution and his loyalty to the sovereign—if it were possible for him to lose all those generous feelings which bind him to his country and secure his obedience to its laws—if it were possible for him to sacrifice all these to those principles which are brought forward to support a change of government, yet if he should attend only to reason, he would find them wild and illusive theories. He would find the principle of individual will powerful and efficient to the destruction of every individual and of every community, but to every good purpose null and void. He would find that those rights

which entitle all to an equal share in the government are rights which only serve to remove them from useful labour, from sober industry, and from domestic connections, and which abandon them to be the slaves of every idle caprice, and of every destructive passion. The government that adopts such principles, ceases to be a government; it unties the bands which knit together society, it forfeits the reverence and obedience of its subjects; it gives up those whom it ought to protect, to the daggers of the Marseillois and the assassins of Paris. Under a pretence of centering all authority in the will of the many, it establishes the worst sort of despotism. Such is the state of that wretched country, France, the detestable policy of which has added new words to the dictionary, such as the phrases of municipalities declaring themselves in a state of *permanent revolution*, and the nation itself in a state of *sovereign insurrection*! In what is called the government of the multitude, they are not the many who govern the few, but the few who govern the many. It is a species of tyranny which adds insult to the wretchedness of its subjects, by stiling its own arbitrary decrees the voice of the people, and sanctioning its acts of oppression and cruelty under the pretence of the national will. Such is the nature of those principles, connected with the right of individual suffrage; and how far you are prepared to give countenance to that measure, by referring it to a committee as a subject of deliberation, you are now called upon to determine."

One of the most important objects of parliamentary consideration, during the present session, was the state of mercantile credit. The circulating specie being by no means sufficient to answer the very greatly augmented demands of trade, the quantity of paper currency which was brought into circulation as a supplying medium, was so large and disproportionate, that a scarcity of cash was produced, which threatened a general stagnation in the commercial world. In consequence of the distress and alarm which this stagnation had caused, Mr. Pitt proposed that a select committee should be appointed to enquire into facts, and explore their causes; and the subject being investigated, it was found that the embarrassments arose from the precipitation, and not the inability of British merchants. Mr. Pitt proposed that government should advance money on the security of mercantile commodities, by issuing exchequer bills, to be granted to merchants for a limited time, and bearing legal interest. The bill was passed into a law, the temporary embarrassment was removed, and manufactures and trade again became flourishing. In raising the supplies, the minister felt the stagnation of mercantile credit. A loan of 4,500,000*l.* was raised at a premium of 8 per cent. The new duties were 10 per cent. on the assessed taxes, an additional duty on British spirits, on bills, receipts and game licenses.

On the 17th of June, Mr. Fox moved certain resolutions, expressing the request of the house that his Majesty would take the earliest opportunity of procuring peace. Mr. Pitt opposed the address in a long speech. He said he did not hesitate to declare the motion the most impolitic and preposterous, and only calculated to amuse and delude the people, by holding out the possibility of peace when, in reality, it was impossible. You have seen, said Mr. Pitt, your-

selves and all Europe attacked—when you have seen a system established, violating all treaties, disregarding all obligations, and, under the name of the rights of man, uniting the principles of usurpation abroad, tyranny and confusion at home, you will judge whether you ought to sit down without some security against the consequences of such a system being again brought into action. And this security, it appears to me, can only be obtained in one of three modes:—first, that these principles shall no longer predominate; or second, that those who are now engaged in them shall be taught that they are impracticable, and convinced of their own want of power to carry them into execution; or third, that the issue of the present war shall be such, as by weakening their power of attack shall strengthen your power of resistance. Without these, you may, indeed, have an armed truce, a temporary suspension of hostilities; but no permanent peace; no solid security to guard you against the repetition of injury and the renewal of attack. The present motion can only tend to fetter the operations of war, to delude our subjects, to gratify the factious, to inflame the discontented, to discourage our allies, to strengthen our enemies. What could be the effect of any negotiation for peace in the present moment. It is not merely the character of Marat, with whom we would have to treat, that I object; it is not the horror of those crimes, in every stage, rising one above another in point of enormity? but I object to the consequences of that character, to the effect of those crimes. They are such as render negotiation useless, and must entirely deprive of stability any peace which could be concluded in such circumstances. All the crimes which disgrace history have occurred in one country, in a space so short, and with circumstances so highly aggravated, as outrun thought and exceed imagination. Should we treat with Marat, before we had finished the negotiation, he might again have descended to the dregs of the people, from whom he sprung, and have given place to a still more desperate villain. But if the motion can answer no good purpose, can it answer no bad one? Might it not serve to encourage the French? What the honourable gentleman reserved as the last part of his argument, seemed to have this tendency, the conclusion which he drew of the necessity of a peace from the situation of the country. If we are really come to that period of distress, we must indeed submit to the decrees of Providence with such resignation as we would submit to the sacrifice of our independence. If the period of our ruin is come, we must prepare to meet the fate which we cannot avert; we cannot meet it in any shape more dreadful than that which is proposed by the motion of the honourable gentleman. But our situation is not yet so desperate. With respect to the embarrassment of credit, and the consequent interruption of commerce, I may safely say, that none have watched it more carefully than myself, none can have felt it more anxiously. The honorable gentleman states the means of relief, which have been adopted by the legislature, as, in his opinion, a proof of the extent of the calamity, for my part, I have formed a very different conclusion. The effect of the relief held out by the legislature, even before it was experienced, was completely to restore confidence and vigour to commerce—a proof that the embar-

passed state of credit was only temporary, and, in a great measure, accidental. The present motion, by magnifying the inconvenience which we have sustained into a calamity, is calculated to give a false impression, and give to what at most could only be the object of apprehension at home, all the mischievous consequences of a real distress abroad. It is calculated to discourage our allies, and inspire our enemies with confidence. Having thus given my opinion as a member of parliament, there are some allusions which have been made to me, as a member of the cabinet, which I am called upon to notice. I have only to say, that if there is any difference in opinion between me and other members of the cabinet, I can only assure him, that I am the more determined to oppose the grounds and principles upon which this motion is founded. I have spoken at much greater length than at first I intended; but on this subject whenever it occurs, I find it impossible to keep those bounds which I had prescribed to myself, prompted, as I am, to enlarge, by the dearest feelings and principles of my heart, affection and gratitude to my sovereign, and that duty which I owe as a member of the community.

In this year the *United Irishmen* first assembled, and the Scotch convention of delegates. As their purposes were known we shall pass over the current events, till the meeting of parliament on the 21st of Jan. 1794. Mr. Fox moved an amendment to the proposed address recommending his majesty to treat, as speedily as possible, for a peace with France, upon safe and advantageous terms, without any reference to the nature or form of the government that might exist in that country. Mr. Pitt said, that the present war had not been hastily and rashly engaged in, but after due deliberation and mature conviction. It had been the opinion of the majority of that house, and of the great body of the nation, that it was undertaken upon grounds strictly defensive; and that the nation were equally compelled to engage in it by the obligations of duty, and the urgency of necessity. As to the objects of the war, they had frequently been brought forward in the course of last session, and unless it can be shewn, that we were originally mistaken: that they were not proper objects of contest; or that they are already gained; the obligations and necessity which originally induced us to undertake the war, operate with equal force at the present moment. He had placed the termination of the war upon two circumstances; first, the being able to procure a peace upon terms likely to render it secure and permanent; and secondly, an indemnity suitable to expence incurred by carrying on the war. He had always asserted, that if a peace could be made upon terms of security to this country, no consideration of the detestable characters of the ruling men in France, or of the crimes and horrors with which they were sullied, ought to influence this country to reject such terms. From the nature of the French government, there could be no dependence on the characters of whom it was composed. The shifting of persons took place like the shifting of scenes; but this change of persons produced no alteration in the conduct of the drama, the principles and proceedings still continued the same, or only were distinguished in their progress by increased gradations of enormity.—On the 21st of May, a new government,

more dreadful in its character, and more fatal in its effects, than any which preceded it, had taken place—this was the revolutionary government—one of the leading features of which was the abolition of religion. The extinction of religious sentiment was intended to pave the way for the introduction of fresh crimes, and entirely to break asunder those bands of society which had been already loosened. A second measure of this government was the destruction of property; a precedent which tended not less to destroy all ideas of justice, than the former to extinguish all sentiments of piety. These crimes, however, they contrived to convert into sources of revenue. From the pillage of the churches—from the destruction of property—from the confiscation of the effects of those who were condemned, they derived the means for conducting their military operations. They pushed every resource to its utmost extent: resources so desperate afford in themselves the most certain symptoms and indications of the approaching decay of that system with which they are connected. If then such be the system, if such the means of its support, what prospect can there be of either stability or permanence to the present order of things? As to the question of the honorable gentleman, continued the chancellor of the exchequer, whether I am never to make peace with the Jacobins it is extremely difficult to answer; and it would be neither prudent nor rational in me to give him any definitive reply in the present moment. The question of pursuing the war must, in every instance, depend upon the convenience with which it can be carried on to ourselves, and of that you must be best qualified to judge. The honorable gentleman's motion is certainly couched in very general terms, and such as might take in every thing that I have contended for. It recommends to his majesty, to conclude a peace whenever it can be done upon safe and advantageous terms, without any reference to the nature and form of government which may exist in France. I likewise am of opinion, that a safe and advantageous peace ought to be concluded, but that the security and benefits of that peace must depend upon the establishment of a government essentially different from the present; but though the motion, from the general terms in which it is expressed, is calculated to gain no precise object, it is yet capable of much mischief; it means and says, that this house entertains sentiments different from those expressed by his Majesty in his speech. It holds out to our allies, that they are no longer to consider us as eager in the cause, while it must impart encouragement and confidence to our enemies. The honorable gentleman has said, that a treaty with the French government would afford us as good a security for the continuance of peace, as that which we derived from the treaty of Ryswick or Utrecht. He then, in his usual way, entered into a declamation against kings, and said, that we might place equal dependance on the good faith of the present government of France, as on that of the court of Louis XIV. This I expressly deny; and I affirm, that had that king even succeeded in his ambitious projects to their full extent, what we should then have suffered might have been considered as a deliverance, compared with what must be the consequence of success attending the present French system. All the splendor of

his court, all the abilities of his generals and discipline of his armies, all the great exertions which he was enabled to make, proceeded from a high sentiment of honour. No such principles actuate the conduct of the present French rulers. They have contrived to banish all restraints, and with an ambition more insatiable, they have at their disposal, means of destruction much more formidable than that monarch ever possessed in the plenitude of his power. The honorable gentleman has inaccurately stated, that I attach the same degree of importance to the restoration of monarchy in France, as to the destruction of the present system; this is by no means the case. I attach importance to the restoration of monarchy, from an opinion, that in the present state of France, some settled form should take place, in which the greater part of the people may be disposed to concur. The ancient government I consider as affording the best materials upon which they could work in introducing any change into the fabric of their constitution; besides, as I have thought it incumbent in any interference which I proposed in the internal affairs of that country, to consult chiefly the happiness of the people. Monarchy appeared to me the system most friendly to their true interests. But there is one part of the argument of my noble friend, to which I must particularly call your attention, and which, independently of every other consideration, precludes even the possibility of our treating with France in the present moment. A decree has been passed by the convention, forbidding to treat with any enemy, till they shall have evacuated the territories of the republic; and on the 11th of April it was again decreed, that those persons should be punished with death who should propose to treat with any power which should not have previously acknowledged the independence of the French nation, and the unity and indivisibility of the republic, founded upon liberty and equality. Are you then to withdraw your armies, to deprive yourself of the co-operation of your allies, to forego all your acquisitions, to give up Condé, Quesnoi, Tobago, Fort Louis, all the factories in the East Indies? Should you consent to do all this; should you even hasten to send an ambassador to treat with the convention, and the right honorable gentleman (Mr. Fox), I believe on a former occasion, volunteered himself for that service, you not only must acknowledge the unity and indivisibility of the French republic, but you must do so in their own way. You must acknowledge it as founded on liberty and equality. You must subscribe to the whole of their code, and by this act, sanction the deposition of your sovereign and the annihilation of your legislature. It may be said, that they would not insist upon all this to its full extent; but of this I can have but little confidence, when I compare their past declarations and their conduct. To whatever pitch of extravagance they may have reached in what they have said, the absurdity of their expressions has in every instance been surpassed by the outrages of their conduct. We are called in the present age to witness the political and moral phenomenon of a mighty and civilized people, formed into an artificial horde of banditti, throwing off all the restraints which have influenced men in social life, displaying a savage valour directed by a

sanguinary spirit, forming rapine and destruction into a system, and perverting to their detestable purposes, all the talents and ingenuity which they derived from their advanced stage of civilization, all the refinements of art, and the discoveries of science. We behold them uniting the utmost savageness and ferocity of design with consummate contrivance, and skill in execution; and seemingly engaged in no less than a conspiracy to exterminate from the face of the earth, all honor, humanity, justice, and religion. In this state, can there be any question but to resist, where resistance alone can be effectual, till such time, as by the blessing of providence upon our endeavors, we shall have secured the independence of this country, and the general interests of Europe?"—Mr. Pitt carried the address by a majority of 277 against 59.

The sentence of Messrs. Muir and Palmer, came under the cognizance of parliament on the 27th. Mr. Pitt, however, took no part in the debate, but on a subsequent occasion he gave his opinion in favour of the justice of the sentence. On the 3d of Feb. in a debate upon the military force to be employed, Mr. Pitt thus stated the comparative situation of the country, at the commencement of the war and at that time; "You have now 85,000 seamen voted, of whom 75,000 are at present borne and mustered. You have made an addition to your army of about 30 000 men. You have in your pay a considerable number of auxiliary troops—a force, which at the commencement of the war, had no existence. You have thus, both from the situation in which you stand with respect to the enemy, and from the increased means which you possess to carry on the contest, the most flattering prospect of final success. In this discussion Mr. P. also admitted, that he had a considerable share in advising the expedition to Dunkirk, and that he did not shrink from the smallest part of the responsibility—that if he had given wrong advice, however he might regret the consequences, he should certainly feel no shame in avowing the error. There was but one circumstance, he affirmed, which led to the raising of the siege, and that was the discomfiture of the covering army of Austrians under Gen. Freytag. He then entered into the vindication of the affair of Toulon, and affirmed, that both in the acquisition, in the defence, and in the evacuation, eminent merit was displayed."

On the 5th, the ways and means were submitted to the house; 19 millions were necessary, and the new taxes were laid on bricks and tiles, British and foreign spirits, slate, stone, glass, paper, and attorney's indentures.

The punishment of the Scotch emissaries of sedition, did not deter similar projectors in England. On the 13th of May, a committee of secrecy was appointed, to examine the papers of certain persons, Messrs. Horne Tooke, Hardy and others, who had been taken into custody. On the 16th Mr. Pitt presented the first report, and stated at great length his view of its contents. He traced the history and proceedings of the societies for the last two years; they had adopted, he said, the monstrous doctrines of the rights of man, which seduced the weak and ignorant to overturn government, law, property, security, and whatever was valuable; which had destroyed

whatever was valuable in France, and endangered the safety, if not the existence of every nation in Europe. The object of all these societies was the practical inculcation of such doctrines. A correspondence, prior to the enormities of France, had subsisted between these societies and the French Jacobin clubs. When the Jacobin faction, which usurped the government, had commenced hostilities against Great Britain, these societies, as far as they could, had pursued the same conduct, expressed the same attachment to their cause, adopted their appellations, and formed the design of disseminating the same principles. Their operations were chiefly directed to manufacturing towns. They considered the convention at Edinburgh as the representatives of the people, asserted the innocence of those members who fell under the sentence of the law, and declared they could only look for reform in such a convention. But the chief attention of the house was required in considering a society, though composed of the meanest and most despicable of the people, who acted upon the worst Jacobin principles and had within it the means of the most unbounded extension and rapid increase. This society, comprehending thirty divisions in London, was connected by a systematic correspondence, with other societies scattered through the manufacturing towns. It had arrived at such a pitch of audacity as to declare its competence to watch over the progress of legislation; to investigate its principles; to prescribe limits for its actions, beyond which if it presumed to advance, an end was to be put to the existence of parliament itself. Recently this corresponding society had laid before the constitutional society a plan for assembling a convention for all England. The evident object of the proposed meeting, in Mr. Pitt's opinion, was to exercise legislative and judicial capacities, to overturn the established system of government, and wrest from the parliament the power which the constitution had lodged in their hands. This plan was to be speedily carried into execution, and Sheffield was chosen to facilitate the meeting of their delegates. An assembly had been held on the 14th of April, and resolutions were passed which arraigned every branch of the government; threatened the sovereign, insulted the house of peers, and accused the commons of insufficiency; declarations were uttered, that if certain measures were pursued, whether with or without the consent of parliament, they should be rescinded; and that the constitution was utterly destroyed. The proofs of these allegations were their own records; and it further appeared from the report, that arms had been actually procured and distributed by the societies: and that so far from breaking up this Jacobin army, they had shewn themselves immovably bent on their pursuit, and displayed preparations of defiance and resistance to government. From all these facts, Mr. Pitt inferred there was a very dangerous conspiracy, which it became them, by seasonable interference, to prevent from being carried into execution. In times of apprehended rebellion it had been usual to enact a temporary suspension of the habeas corpus law; that act had been suspended when the constitution and liberty of the country were most guarded and respected; and such a suspension was more particularly called for at this crisis, when attempts were made to disseminate principles

dangerous to that constitution, for the preservation of which the law had been made; Mr. Pitt, therefore, proposed a bill "empowering his majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of designs against his crown and government." Mr. Fox expressed his astonishment that the committee should solemnly call the attention of the house to facts so long notorious; the allegations reported by the committee were chiefly repetitions of stale advertisements. What was the real account, taken apart from the comments of Mr. Pitt's eloquence? Societies had been constituted for the purposes of parliamentary reform; they had corresponded together; and they had corresponded with France when at peace with this country. A convention was proposed for the purposes of reform in England; and this was the only new information. The project was in itself contemptible and ridiculous, and could not really alarm the minister, or any man in his senses. No grounds were adduced that could possibly justify such a momentous intrenchment on the liberties of the subject as this bill proposed. Mr. Pitt prevailed, and the proposition of ministers passed into a law. In the after-discussion of the habeas corpus act suspension bill, Mr. Pitt entered minutely into the views and objects of these societies—he read more extracts from the corresponding society. In one of their proceedings they appoint a committee to watch over the proceedings of parliament, with a view to controul whatever may appear to them improper conduct, expressing, at the same time, that as no redress of their grievances was to be expected from that quarter, it was their duty to repel tyranny by the same means by which it was supported. He then said, with regard to nothing new being in the report until the seizure of those papers, the correspondence with the club at Norwich* had never been known, and it was one of the most important discoveries that those papers contained, as it brought to light the general intention of assembling their Jacobin convention. The other subjects of parliamentary discussion during this important session, were the temporary introduction of the Hessian troops, previous to their employment in the expedition for which they were engaged—the bill for the emigrant forces—the voluntary contributions—foreign subsidies—the bill to prevent sums voted in the British funds from being seized by the French rulers—motions of inquiry, tending to the censure of ministry, and motions for the re-establishment of peace. Upon most, and indeed all of these matters Mr. Pitt spoke at large, and with astonishing powers. His measures were

* During the success of the French, a few of the lowest class waited upon a worthy magistrate of that city, who was supposed to favor "the cause of liberty," and congratulated him upon the progress of their principles, and at the same time upon the general division of property which would now very soon be made. Well, gentlemen, said the magistrate, but this will fall hard upon some; for instance, Mr. Coke, of Holkham, surely you will allow him some means of maintenance, since not being accustomed to labour, he would hardly be able to obtain support. Why ay, said these legislators, that's true, we had not considered that; to be sure he is one of us, and he ought to have some allowance. Well gentlemen, and what do you propose? Why 300*l.* a year! Don't you think that would be enough? Why upon my word I think he ought to have 300*l.* a year, and so good morning, gentlemen.

supported by the same great majorities. The parliament was prorogued on the 11th of July.

The unfortunate termination of the campaigns in 1794, are well remembered. Holland being evacuated by the British, yielded to the republican armies. In France, the tyranny of Robespierre and of the Jacobin clubs had been ended by his death. Social order began to re appear. In Great Britain, the trial of Watt and Downie at Edinburgh, and of Hardy and others in England, for high treason, had principally occupied the public attention. The volunteer associations had been set on foot. A treaty was concluded between Great Britain and America, tending powerfully to promote the political amity and commercial benefit of both countries. Several changes took place in the administration, making room for the whigs, who had seceded from Mr. Fox at the commencement of the war: Lord Fitzwilliam was made viceroy of Ireland, the Duke of Portland third secretary of state, Mr. Windham secretary at war, and Earl Spencer first lord of the admiralty.

Parliament met on the 30th of Dec. 1794. His majesty's speech urged the necessity of perseverance in the war, notwithstanding our disappointments, and augured the ultimate success of our allies, from the progressive and rapid decay of French resources, and the instability of every part of that unnatural system. Mr. Wilberforce having moved an amendment to the address, recommending a negotiation for peace, Mr. Pitt, in addition to his former arguments, said, the question now to be discussed might shortly be stated, whether the risk of making peace with the present government of France, was greater than that of continuing the war in the present condition of the resources of this country. What was the prospect which a peace with France, under the present circumstances, presented to this kingdom? Had we reason to expect from such a peace, any cordial intercourse, any desirable amity and friendship? should we be enabled to disband our armies, or disarm our fleets, or to put an end to the traitorous correspondence bill, and the other measures which had been passed, with a view to the preservation of public order and tranquillity? He could easily suppose that those gentlemen, who had in an early part of the evening, so decidedly given their opinion with respect to the late trials, and who had supposed all the persons in this country to be so pure, as not even to be infected by contact with Jacobin principles, would foresee no danger from a French alliance. But such was not the case with his honorable friends, who, even in such an event, talked of the necessity of additional precautions, in order to guard the dignity of the crown, and preserve the tranquillity of the country. But this was not the only objection to abandoning the war in the present moment. We were desired to relinquish the contest at a period at which all the natural and unnatural resources by which France had hitherto been enabled to persevere, were fast approaching to their termination. Would the right honorable gentleman opposite, Mr. Fox, himself say, that England was in that state under which she should agree to a peace, leaving the Austrian Netherlands in possession of the French? In a few months after, Holland would certainly be added to that acquisition, and in a

short time afterwards, the sword must be drawn again, upon terms of much greater disadvantage, than we had now to encounter in carrying on the war. All modern wars had been remarked to depend on a comparison of the means by which they were to be carried on. That state, however, which possessed the superiority of resources had been found finally to be successful. The great question between Great Britain and France, in the present contest, was—which should be able to hold out longest in point of pecuniary resources? The French existed, he said, by means as extraordinary as the events they brought about—their pecuniary expences were beyond any thing ever known, and supported by requisition of person, life and property—they depended entirely upon terror. He then stated, that since the revolution their expenditure amounted to 420 millions sterling; 320 millions sterling in two years, was the price of the efforts by which they wrested from the allies the conquests they had obtained. But was this to be considered as the scale of what they could spend? did these enormous sums arise from an increase of revenue, or from an orderly system of finance?—not at all—it arose from an unlimited paper credit; and all their own accounts concurred, he said, in declaring, that if carried any farther, it would be impossible to maintain any longer, much less to augment it, by any greater aggravations of the mischief of plunder and confusion. It had even been stated by their own leader, that it had now been carried to that point, beyond which it could not be extended without ruin to the country. Was it then too much to say, their resources were nearly at an end? The question then was—had we, under the present circumstances, the prospect of being able to bring as great a force into the field, as would require from the French the same degree of exertion which had been necessary in the former campaigns? Even let it be supposed that Holland should fall, and that circumstances should be such, that we could no longer look for assistance from the court of Berlin, yet he could see no reason why the augmentation of the British force might not fully supply the loss, and even do something more valuable in point of effect, with respect to the operations of the war. He could see no reason, if we gave to Austria the pecuniary aid which it required at its own expence, why we might not be able, in conjunction with the augmented force, which, from the assistance of our credit, it would be enabled to bring forward, along too with the powers of Spain and the states of Italy, to effect a powerful diversion, and accomplish the important purpose—a purpose in the accomplishment of which, the happiness, almost the existence of Europe, entirely rested. Opposition contended on the contrary, that the enthusiasm of the French would support them against all difficulties and find new resources. The house however supported the minister by a majority of 179.

On the 26th of Jan. 1795, a motion was made by Mr Grey, “that the present state of the government of France ought not to preclude a negotiation for peace.” The old arguments on both sides were recapitulated; and Mr. Pitt again distinctly declared, that ministers had never entertained the idea of the conquest of France—that security was their object.

The force required by Britain for the service of 1795, amounted to 100,000 seamen, 120,000 regulars for the guard and garrisons of the kingdom, 66,000 militia, and 40,000 men employed partly in Ireland and partly in the West-Indies and the plantations, exclusive of fencibles and volunteers, foreign troops in British pay, and embodied French emigrants. The sums required to maintain this force, with the extraordinaries and ordnance for the Sardinian subsidy, and all the public services of the year, amounted to twenty-seven millions, five hundred and forty thousand pounds, requiring a loan of eighteen millions. The taxes were upon wine, foreign and British spirits, tea, coffee, insurances, foreign grocery and fruits, timber, increase or post-office duty by abridging the privilege of franking, and on hair powder. The loan having been raised by private contract and not by open competition, was severely censured; the terms were alleged to be, at least five per cent. more favorable to the contractors than was necessary. In furnishing the requisite force for the current year, greatly surpassing the demands of former exigencies, it was necessary to consider the most speedy and effectual means for levying soldiers and sailors. On the 2d of Feb. Mr. Pitt proposed a new plan for manning the navy. He prefaced it by saying, there was only one general consideration to which he should call their attention in the outset of the business. All had expressed, and he trusted sincerely felt, the necessity of great and unusual burdens, in order to meet the scale of exertion which it was incumbent upon the country to make in the present crisis. He trusted, that in the present instance, instead of attempts being made to throw the burden upon one particular class, instead of jealousy being produced between interests mistakenly considered as opposite, all classes of the community would cheerfully unite to examine what was the proportion which each could afford to bear, and in what manner the exertions of the country could be most effectually called forth. In proposing the means by which the plan now before the committee might best be carried into effect, he must necessarily look to the principal sources of the national force. The principal of these undoubtedly was the trade. He should look to the mercantile marine—first, as it was the quarter best qualified to supply the exertions which were now called for; and secondly, because so far as there was a separate interest, none were more interested than the ship-owners and merchants, that the country should be able to meet the naval force of the enemy, to maintain its superiority by sea, and to supply adequate convoys. The total of the shipping of Scotland and England employed 100,000 men, and that the proportion of men to the tonnage, was about one man for every fourteen tons. He proposed to take about one seaman out of every seven who were employed; though indeed it was not necessary that they should be able men, as he would put an alternative, that the ship-owners, if they were so disposed, might, instead of one seaman, provide two landsmen; this was accomplished according to the tonnage. He computed that the whole number of men obtained in this way might amount to between eighteen and twenty thousand; it was his intention also to call upon the country for some supply of landsmen for the service of the navy. This supply he meant to raise according

to the number of parishes in the kingdom, and reckoning one man for the proportion, it might produce a force of about ten thousand men. The way in which he meant to ascertain the number, was by a list of the inhabited houses, not exempted from taxes. The mode of distributing the proportion, and of arranging the means by which it was to be raised, he would leave to the justices of the peace, at a special sessions to be held for the purpose, providing only that a larger sum than should be adequate to the bounty given to volunteers, should be levied upon any parish which should be a defaulter; he also privileged a certain number of men out of those who were employed in the inland navigation, on navigable rivers and canals. After a few modifications the bill passed into a law.

The preparations for the ensuing campaign, early in the session came under consideration. The emperor had signified his earnest inclination to make the most vigorous efforts against the common enemy, but intimated the necessity of pecuniary assistance, in a loan of four millions, on the credit of the revenues, which arose from his hereditary dominions; this would enable him to bring two hundred thousand men into the field. His Britannic majesty expressed his wish that the emperor should not only receive the desired supply, but also, that by means of a similar loan to a greater extent, he might be enabled to employ a still more considerable force; a message to that effect was, on the 4th of Feb. 1795, delivered to the house. Mr. Pitt made a motion for the loan required: in discussing this proposition, he said, there were three points to be considered; 1st. the utility of the co-operation of Austria; 2d. the security for the performance of the stipulations; and 3d. whether the risk of the loan itself was greater than the probable advantage to be derived from the measure. We ought to consider the enemy with whom we had to contend; an enemy powerful in men and resources. If he was asked, where was the money to combat their resources? Where was the land force to encounter their requisition? Where was the navy to maintain its superiority on the sea? Such was the proud situation of this happy island, that all these were to be found in Great Britain. If there was any deficiency, it was in the number of our land forces. It was necessary, therefore, that for these we should look to some great power on the continent; and to whom could we look but to the emperor? Both from the extensive means which he possessed, from his local situation, from the military character of his subjects, and from his interest in the prosecution of the present contest. But he did not merely rest upon this argument, arising out of the general situation of Europe. It was an object of policy to increase our force, when considered as acting upon our enemy in another mode. For what he was now to mention with respect to the situation of France, he had the admissions of persons who could not be suspected of giving an unfavorable statement. He had the admission of Tallien himself, corroborated by several other commissioners and members of the convention, that the internal pressure of France was such, that it could not long be supported, unless the immense mass of paper currency was reduced. There existed no way of diminishing this mass, but by a diminution of their expences, and those expences

could not be lessened unless their forces were reduced. It was necessary therefore, that we should keep them up to the same scale of exertions, which must ultimately be fatal to their resources; and by bringing into the field a force equal to any which they could possibly supply, counteract their professed object, to make peace with some countries; in order that with a reduced establishment they might more successfully carry on the war against others. The question was, whether we would be parties to their scheme of policy, by allowing the emperor to withdraw his force for the want of pecuniary assistance. It was with the wish to pursue the war against this country with unabated rancour, that they desired peace with the other powers of the confederacy. This argument brought him to the third point—the preservation of our naval superiority; and here Mr. Pitt contended that this would be best pursued by directing the attention of the enemy from his marine, to which end the measure proposed would immediately tend. He said, that the earnestness of the emperor to conclude this loan had afforded full proof of his sincerity in the cause; and that the advantage likely to result from the present measure was such as greatly to overbalance any risk with which it might be attended, was the clearest proposition that had ever presented itself to his mind.

On the 24th of March, Mr. Fox moved, that the house of commons should resolve itself into a committee, to enquire into the state of the nation; if, he said, when the public mind was evidently changed, the house should continue to repose a blind confidence in ministers, to impose new burdens on the people, not only without requiring them to negotiate, but even without demanding of them any account of the blood and treasure they had squandered, great advantage must be given to whoever wished to disseminate dissatisfaction. England must, it was manifest, sustain the whole weight of the war. Mr. Fox again insisted, in the strongest terms, upon the propriety and necessity of a specific avowal of the object of the war. Ministers had so shuffled and trimmed between different systems—they had dealt out their declarations and professions in such ambiguous language, that they had lost all claim and title to confidence; he then adverted to the condition of Ireland, the irritated state of which was to be ascribed, according to every appearance, to the misconduct of ministers. Mr. Pitt said, that on the different topics introduced in the speech of the right honorable gentleman, he would briefly call the attention of the house to the only true point of the motion which had just been made, which was the reference to the present situation of a sister kingdom, the other topics were merely a repetition of all that had been so frequently advanced; what he had rested upon as a separate and substantial ground of inquiry was the state of politics in that sister kingdom. However his speech might have assumed the shape of an elaborate and able discussion of the past and present situation of the country, it was evident that it was brought forward with a view to the difficulty and embarrassment of the particular crisis. He would not deny that in what had happened there was much which he had to regret; but he would venture boldly to state, for himself and his colleagues, that if any embarrassment had arisen in Ireland, it did not

proceed from any declaration sanctioned by them, committing his majesty's government in that country. He would not now enter into the question, whether any blame was attached to the respectable person at the head of the government. He had only thought necessary to make an assertion in justice to himself and his colleagues, which he would defy, at any future period, to be disproved. What was the object of this motion but to countenance discontent under pretext of lamenting it, and to produce danger by the very means recommended for precaution. The different grounds stated by the right honorable gentleman as proper grounds of inquiry, comprehended the question of resources, population, revenue, foreign connexions, the objects of the war, and the means by which it was to be prosecuted. There was no point, political, financial, commercial, and almost speculative, that related to the state of the country, which the right honorable gentleman, in the course of his speech, had not contrived to embrace. But he would ask whether the house, at this advanced period of the session, and after the repeated declarations which they had made with respect to their views, were in a proper situation to be required to enter into an inquiry which no length of session, and no accuracy of investigation could enable them to overtake. One unfortunate singularity which attended the present motion, was that the house had already determined on these very questions, with respect to which it was proposed to institute an inquiry. The first ground on which the right honorable gentleman proposed to enter into a committee of inquiry, is in order to ascertain the state of the finances of the country; that it is already ascertained by the vote of the house, of a loan of 18 millions. The next ground which the right honorable gentleman had stated for going into a committee of inquiry, was to ascertain how far the population of the country had decreased.—No man could look without regret to the loss of those brave fellows, who had nobly fallen in the cause which they had proved themselves so worthy to defend. But after all, the diminution of numbers, which he had stated, amounted to only 12,000, to this he had something much stronger to oppose, and which no speculative inference could be brought to overturn. At present the army was larger than it had ever been at a former period, and the navy upon a more respectable footing than it had been in any second year of a war. So far were manufactures from being decreased, that the export of last year was greater than it had been in any former year, excepting only two of the most flourishing years of peace. When this was stated to be the case, and it was considered that the army and navy were both at so great a pitch—a fact which had been mentioned by the right honorable gentleman, and which, he lamented, was partially true—that there were still manufacturers who were distressed for want of employment, proved directly the reverse of his own arguments, and shewed that the country, which could furnish so large a supply of men both for the service of war and the acts of peace, had suffered no material diminution in its population. The right honorable gentleman had next examined the situation of the country with respect to its allies. The house had now decided upon the general question of the prosecution of the war, and the inquiry proposed was in itself endless; it could

tend to no practical result, and might lead to disclosures which would be attended with embarrassment and mischief. As to the king of Prussia, he had no hesitation to repeat what he had stated upon a former occasion, that he had not adequately performed his engagements, nor acted in such a manner as this country had a right to expect. The question was, whether, in consequence of this particular failure, we were to depart from any general system, and because in one instance we had been disappointed, renounce all benefit to be derived from alliances with other powers. The right honorable gentleman then came to the consideration of that often disputed point, namely, the object of the war. Upon this subject he would not have introduced one single word upon the house, had it not been that the right honorable gentleman had, in some degree shifted his ground. He (Mr. Fox) had stated, that there were two lines of conduct which ministers might have adopted in the commencement of the war; each of these modes of conduct was attended by their respective advantages and disadvantages; but both of them he affirmed to be preferable to the line of conduct adopted by his majesty's ministers. The first of these modes was, by carrying on what he called a war against France; namely, to confine the exertions of this country simply to protect our allies, and to revenge the insults offered to us, without, in any manner whatever, interfering in the internal commotions which might prevail in France. The other mode suggested, was that of carrying on a war for France, thus openly to avow that our efforts were directed to the formation of a regular government in France, and that our conquests were only made in trust for Louis XVII. The right honorable gentleman had this night abandoned all his old arguments, for he formerly used to contend that we could not interfere at all in the internal affairs of France without violating every principle of justice and of the law of nations, but now the right honorable gentleman admits, that it would have been proper to have carried on the war expressly for the restoration of monarchy in France. With all possible respect for the right honorable gentleman's judgment, he thought that his majesty's ministers had conducted the war upon principles more consonant to good sense and policy, than either of the systems stated by that gentleman. They had entered into a war for the defence of this country, and for the protection of our allies, in the prosecution of which they did not by any specific declarations, as to the internal situation of France, prevent themselves from taking every possible advantage of any favourable occurrences which might happen in France. Nor did they state that the restoration of monarchy, or any particular form of government in France, was a *sine qua non*, without which they would not make peace. This was the conduct of his majesty's ministers—this was the conduct which had frequently been explained to, and had as often received the approbation of the house of commons. Upon one point only he would detain the house for a few moments, and that was in reply to the charge made by the right honorable gentleman, of the want of attention in the admiralty to protect the trade of Great Britain. The charge was partly founded upon the increase in the price of insurance. It was true that from some causes

the price of insurance had increased, but there were many circumstances to be taken into consideration upon this subject. The great and unexampled extent of our commerce, which he had shewn in the former part of his speech; the almost total annihilation of the commerce of France, which led her to turn her attention to the equipment of privateers to plunder our trade, which swarmed in every sea. In these circumstances it was not to be wondered at that they should have made several captures of our merchantmen, which, however, he still affirmed to be not more numerous than in proportion to the increase of our trade; upon the whole, the question for the consideration of the house was, whether or not they were to retract all the opinions which they had so often and so solemnly pronounced; and whether they would employ concession and submission as the most likely means to obtain an honourable, a secure and a lasting peace. The right hon. gentleman had attempted, in the course of his speech, to confound every question of danger to be apprehended from the success of the French, and to confound all regular government with the enemies of liberty. He had with the same anxiety, endeavoured to palliate all the excesses of the French, by calling them an enthusiasm in the cause of freedom. Entertaining such sentiments as these, it was natural for that right hon. gentleman to forget all our advantages, while he remembered and often exaggerated our misfortunes. The chancellor concluded this argumentative speech with declaring, that although ministry were prepared and willing to meet every inquiry into their conduct, he should move "that the house do adjourn."—The ayes were 219, the noes 63.

His royal highness the Prince of Wales's marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Brunswick had now taken place.* In consequence of a message from the king, stating the reliance of his majesty upon the generosity of the house to enable him to settle an establishment upon the prince and princess, suited to their rank, and to relieve him from his present incumbrances, the house went on the 4th of May into a committee on this subject. Mr. Pitt declared that it was not his majesty's intention to require a specific sum for the discharge of the debts of his royal highness, but to set apart a certain portion of that income which might be granted by the liberality of parliament. The debts were stated by Mr. Pitt at between six and seven hundred thousand pounds. He therefore proposed that the revenue of his royal highness should be 125,000*£*. that the jointure of the princess should be 50,000*£*. per annum, and that the proportion of the prince's income appropriated for the payment of his debts should be vested in the hands of commissioners. And in order that effectual provision might be made to prevent the recurrence of any such claim in future, he recommended that no arrear should, on any pretence, go beyond the quarter. These propositions were finally acceded to by the house. Irish affairs at this season were extremely interesting. When Earl Fitzwilliam accepted the viceroyalty, as he afterwards declared, he had been authorized to complete the catholic emancipation; and as

* It was, however, well understood that the prince acceded to this alliance with much reluctance—his attachment to the accomplished Mrs. Fitzherbert with whom the marriage ceremony, though invalid by law, had undoubtedly passed, having suffered no diminution.—Belsham's hist. of Geo. III. vol. 5. edit. of 1801.

soon as he entered upon his office, he had prepared to put this measure into execution. The chief members of the Irish ministry at this time were the Beresford party, always inimical to the encouragement of catholics. Lord Fitzwilliam dismissed from their offices some of these persons, and chose, in their place, others favourable to the grand system which he had in view. The steps for accelerating the catholic emancipation passed without animadversion from the English ministry; but the dismissal of Mr. Beresford and his adherents gave great offence to the cabinet of London. Lord Fitzwilliam refusing to change his arrangement, he was recalled, and Lord Camden was appointed his successor. Lord Fitzwilliam arrived in Britain, made his appearance in parliament, challenged ministers to prove, that his measures deserved the blame which their conduct intimated, and demanded an inquiry. Ministers contended that no blame was attached to Lord Fitzwilliam, and therefore no inquiry was necessary for his vindication; and that there were reasons of state which rendered the discussion altogether improper: the motions in the respective houses for an inquiry were negatived. Mr. Wilberforce made another ineffectual effort this session to abolish the slave trade in which he was seconded by Mr. Pitt. The West-India merchants received a vote of relief. Mr. Hastings's acquittal also took place about this period. Such were the principal events, and the session closed on the 27th of June.

Though the republican arms had received a check in Germany, the effects of the former successes now became visible. The grand Duke of Tuscany and the king of Sweden acknowledged the French republic; the king of Prussia abandoned the coalition, and concluded peace. Spain had been compelled to the same measure. The disastrous expedition to Quiberon, (very generally attributed to Mr. Windham) in aid of the royalists, had taken place. The English fleets however, on the other hand, were successful under Admirals Bridport and Hotham, and the Cape of Good Hope was reduced by Admiral Elphinstone. Bonaparte had now begun to attract the notice of his countrymen. In Great Britain many who had approved the war began to abate of their support from its duration. The scarcity and dearth of provisions tended also to excite discontents. Meetings for the purposes of political discussion were frequent, and the societies redoubled their activity; these circumstances induced the king to assemble parliament on the 29th of October. In his way to the house of lords, through the park, his coach was surrounded by persons of all descriptions, demanding peace, and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. Some voices were even heard, exclaiming "no king," and stones were thrown at the state coach as it drew near to the horse guards. In passing through palace-yard, one of the windows was broken, it was said, by a bullet discharged from an air gun. Every loyal and patriotic Briton felt with indignation the unmerited insult offered to his sovereign. A proclamation was published, offering a large pecuniary reward for the discovery of the perpetrators. The speech from the throne was, in the mean time allowed to be as appropriate, as any that had been delivered since the commencement of the war. It mentioned the disappointment of the French in their attempts in Germany, and the internal difficulties under which

they continued to labor. Their present situation afforded a well founded presumption, that they would listen to equitable and moderate terms of peace. In order to obtain such terms, it would be necessary to shew that Great Britain was able to maintain the contest till such a peace ensued, as accorded with its dignity and interest. The address was opposed by Mr. Fox, who concluded a speech made up of the old arguments, with moving that such conditions of peace might be offered to the French as were consistent with the safety and dignity of Great Britain. The very recent agitation of this question left but little new matter for either side; we shall therefore only state that Mr. Fox's motion was negatived by 240 to 59. To secure his majesty against future attempts, bills were introduced into both houses. In the house of commons, on the 9th of Nov. Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing seditious assemblies. Mr. P. prefaced his motion in a short speech, in which he said no man could have a doubt that the right to give his opinion on public affairs, and to discuss the propriety of public measures of the legislature, was an inherent right of every man in this country, and he should be sorry to say any thing from a momentary pressure, however strong, against the constitutional privilege of meeting and discussing public measures, and forming petitions to the legislature; but on the other hand, if at meetings of this kind, instead of stating real grievances, the people were excited to rebellion; if instead of favoring the principle of freedom, the very foundation of it was to be destroyed, and with it the happiness of the people, it was high time for the legislature to interpose with its authority. The bill proposed that all assemblies exceeding fifty in number, and not already recognized by law, if convened for addressing the king or parliament, with the view or on the pretext of considering grievances, or procuring an alteration in church or state, should be declared unlawful, and liable to dispersion by a magistrate, after reading a specific proclamation; unless the assembly were collected by a public advertisement, signed by seven resident householders, and a true copy of it, subscribed by them, were left with the publisher, who, under a penalty of fifty pounds, must deliver it to any justice of the peace by whom it should be demanded. It farther provided, that disobedience for more than one hour to the magistrate's order to disperse, should subject any individual of a number above twelve, to the punishment of death; and even an assembly held by regular advertisement, in the same manner, and with the same risk to the disobedient, might be dispersed, if any measure subversive of the constitution, or tending to incite the people to hatred, or dislike, or contempt of the royal family, or of the parliament, were proposed. To prevent certain political lecturers from gaining a livelihood, by preaching sedition, a house opened for any political discussion, without a licence, was to incur a penalty of a hundred pounds.—Mr. Fox reprobated this measure in a very eloquent and warm speech; he contended that the existing laws upon the subject were adequate to every constitutional purpose. Why do not ministers, said he, at once declare, in a manly way, that a free constitution is no longer

suitable to this country, and that arguing upon a philosophical view of the complexion of the times and the events which have recently taken place in Europe, that a change in the principles of the government is become expedient? Why do they not at once imitate the example of Denmark in the last century, and from principles of convenience, surrender their free form of government into the hands of an arbitrary monarch, and not thus mock the understanding, and insult the feelings of the people of this country. Various petitions against the bill were presented to the house, and addresses also in its favor; at length it passed into a law. These acts tended greatly to shake the popularity of Mr. Pitt throughout the kingdom. However efficient they might be for remedying the specific evils that prevailed, yet even many friends of government thought they did much more than the necessity of the case justified. The restrictions upon the press, imposed by the same act, were deemed to admit also too much latitude of construction, and to enchain the freedom of the press. Mr. Pitt is nevertheless accused of having laid too little stress on literary efficacy.

During these parliamentary agitations, the houses were not unmindful of the critical state of the country, through the alarming scarcity of corn that had prevailed for some time. On the second day of the session, Mr. Pitt moved that the bill allowing the importation of corn, duty free, should be extended to another year. He proposed at the same time several regulations relating to the sale of flour, and the making of bread. After a long discussion of the causes of the scarcity, they were found to be of so complicated a nature, that it proved difficult to remove them. A bill was however brought in to prohibit the manufacture of starch from wheat and other grain; to lower the duties on its importation, to prevent the distilling from it, and all obstructions to its free transportation through every part of the kingdom. A bounty for importation was also agreed upon. The hardships incident to labourers, tradesmen and manufacturers were, on the 27th of Nov. brought before the consideration of the house by Mr. Whitbread. Mr. Pitt was of opinion, that in a matter of this kind the operation of general principles ought to be attended to, preferably to uncertain and precarious remedies. It was dangerous to interfere, by regulation, in the intercourse between individuals engaged in the various business of society. Many of the distresses complained of, originated from the abuses that had crept into the execution of the laws relating to the poor, which required much amendment. They did not sufficiently discriminate between the unfortunate and the idle and dissipated. All application for relief should be founded upon unavoidable misfortune, and if possible, the relief should consist of employment, which would not only benefit the individual applying, but the community itself, by an increase of labour and industry to the common stock. He recommended the institution of friendly societies. After an elaborate discussion of this subject, Mr. Whitbread's motion was negatived.

On the 7th of Dec. Mr. Pitt laid before the house an estimate of the expences of the approaching year. They amounted to 27,500,000*l.* including a loan of 18,000,000*l.* He gave a very favorable account

of many branches of the revenue, particularly of the permanent taxes, which he stated to be adequately productive to the extent of the sums expected from them. The interest of the loan would amount to 1,112,000*l.* for the payment of which, he would propose the following taxes;—2 per cent. on all legacies above a certain extent to the first collaterals: he next proposed 10 per cent. on the already assessed taxes, one pound upon every horse kept for pleasure, two shillings on every horse kept for labour, an additional tax on tobacco and on printed linens, a duty upon salt, and the reduction of the drawback on sugar; the total of these would amount to 1,127,000*l.* which was more than sufficient for the proposed interest. Mr. Pitt took particular notice, at the same time, that in the fourth year of a most expensive war, such was the prosperity and opulence of this country, that it was able to command the immense loan in question, at no more than 4 1-2 per cent. He also assigned the reason for his raising it without having recourse to his usual method of competition, which was, that the persons concerned in procuring the last loan, had not yet received the latter instalments due to them upon it. This assertion gave birth to much censure. The point, at which they chiefly aimed, was to prove that Mr. P. had acted erroneously, in putting the business of the loan into the hands of Mr. Boyd. This was represented in many of the circumstances, as unwarrantable and corrupt. On the 26th of Feb. 1796, the question was agitated in the view to exculpate Mr. Pitt, and resolutions to that effect were moved by Mr. Douglas. Mr. P. said in his vindication, it cannot be supposed, that from any recent declarations which have been made by the honourable gentleman, exculpating me from all charge of personal corruption, that I should have forgotten that it was broadly stated by gentlemen on the other side, who moved for a committee of inquiry, that there was ground for suspicion, that the distribution of the loan had been employed for the purpose of corrupt influence. If such declarations were rash and unguarded, and if they are now retracted as unjust and unfounded, I certainly have reason to rejoice in the progress which has been made in consequence of the sober investigation of a committee towards a decision so much more grateful to my character and feelings. But at the same time I cannot help remarking, that while the ground on which the inquiry was originally brought forward, “that the loan had been employed as the means of corrupt and pernicious influence,” is now professed to be abandoned; it seems to be but half retracted by the honorable mover of the resolution, and to be supplied by ambiguous hints and fresh insinuations. In every loan bill parliament inserts a premium for the prompt payment of the sums subscribed, foreseeing that government may possibly have occasion for the money before the instalments become due in the regular course. Last year, though large sums were paid up, still the public exigencies were such as to render additional supplies necessary, and the terms offered were not sufficiently tempting to induce individuals to come forward with their money. Under these circumstances, government entered into a negotiation with a monied house, to advance such sums as were wanted for the service. At that time parliament could not be

convened, and in order to give effect to the negotiation, it was indispensably necessary that it should be accompanied with some degree of secrecy. In the whole transaction, however, there was nothing questionable or suspicious, nothing unwarrantable on the part of government, or which gave to Mr. Boyd an exclusive right, far less a discretionary power, to dictate the terms of a future loan. So much for the substance of the transaction; as for the form, it was only the form of the security. It was only an engagement on the part of government to make good the sums advanced for the public service. The particular manner of executing it, was such as was dictated by the necessary regard to secrecy. The next point was the effect of the king's message; those who knew him best, knew that it was not in his mind when the bargain was made. Besides the message, there were other collateral causes for the sudden rise of the stocks—the unexpected victories of the Austrians, the increasing distresses of the enemy, the serene and tranquil appearance of affairs at home; these causes, coupled with the intimation, that peace only depended on the disposition of the enemy, combined to give that sudden and extraordinary rise to the funds which singly they would have failed to produce. After all, the extent of the benefit to the contractors, and of the loss to the public, had been greatly over-rated. It had been stated, that the profit upon the loan amounted to 12 per cent.—it amounted to this sum only for four days, during which, stocks were exceedingly fluctuating; so that altogether it did not bear this price for above a few hours, and all the shares must have been disposed of within these few hours, a circumstance which would have brought such a quantity into market, as must have occasioned a depression that would greatly have overbalanced the temporary rise. Under these circumstances, I am said to have given away a sum of two millions, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, by the mode of negotiating the present loan. With this assertion concludes the charge against me; and with desiring the house to attend to this assertion, I conclude my defence.

On the 8th of December, a message was delivered from the king to the house of commons, informing them of his disposition to enter into a negotiation for peace with the present government of France. Mr. Pitt moved an address, expressive of their readiness to concur in such a measure. Mr. Sheridan avowed himself of opinion, that the intention of the ministers was to frustrate the motion for peace, of which Mr. Grey had given notice. Until the present opportunity, Mr. Pitt replied, none had offered to encourage ideas of peace, which, however, had not been prevented by the mere existence of a republic in France, but by a total absence of any species of regular government. The change now was manifest; the new constitution was contrary to the doctrine of universal equality; the French had now a mixed form of government, admitting of distinctions in society; and their legislature was not constructed on a pure democracy. This fully authorized ministry to consider them in quite another light than formerly; but did not furnish any pretence for depriving ministers of their right to act in the name of the executive power, without undue interference.

The plans formed by ministry were so extensive, that the supplies already granted not appearing sufficient, parliament was again resorted to for raising an additional supply and the sanction of another loan. Mr. Pitt was duly sensible of the repugnance to so unprecedented a measure. After apologising for the necessity that compelled him to adopt it, and expressing his confidence that the resources of the country would render it much lighter, on trial, than it seemed in the apprehension of many; he proceeded to inform the house, that it was in some respects, rather a substitution of other taxes to those that had been relinquished for the ease of the public, than the imposition of new ones; he also stated, that services unprovided for, and of which the propriety was evident, would demand the means of performance. Having withdrawn the tax on printed linens and calicoes, he would now propose to replace that deficiency by a tax upon dogs and by another on hats. To these two taxes he would now add one, of twenty pounds a ton upon wine, which would yield 600,000*l.* with very little addition of expence to the consumer. The total of the sums demanded by Mr. Pitt for the services unprovided for, amounted to two millions and a half, and the annual charge of interest, and for the funding of the unfunded debt, arose to 576,000*l.* The loan, which was to furnish the means of carrying the above scheme into execution, would amount to 7,500,000*l.* at the moderate profit of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. to the lenders. This, he observed, was an incontrovertible proof of the flourishing situation of this country, of its surprising resources, and of the confidence reposed in the ministry by people of property. This proposition gave rise to very warm replies; but it was finally passed.

Before the opening of the campaign in 1796, the French had decreed the annexation of Belgium to the territories of the French republic. Negotiations to detach certain powers from the confederacy, had been set on foot at Basle, where Mr. Barthelemi had concluded the treaty with Prussia. Mr. Wickham, the British ambassador to the Swiss cantons, was instructed to apply to this gentleman, and to learn whether the directory were desirous to negotiate with Britain and her allies, on moderate and honorable conditions. The answer received from M. Barthelemi, in the name of the directory, was, that it felt the sincerest desire to terminate the war on such conditions as France could reasonably accept, and which were specified in the answer; but one of these positively insisted on the retention of the Austrian dominions in the low countries. This reply expressing a decided resolution not to part with their acquisitions, displayed in the opinion of the British ministers, a disposition so arrogant, that the negotiation was suspended. Both parties proceeded to open the campaign. The insurgents of La Vendee were reduced—the confederates were repeatedly overcome by Bonaparte, who was now appointed to the command of the army in Italy. The King of Sardinia and the Pope were forced to receive peace at his dictation and Mantua was taken. In Germany, indeed the Archduke Charles had compelled Jourdan to retreat, and the successes of England had been signal. In the West Indies, St. Lucie was retaken, and the insurrection excited by Victor Hughes on the other islands quelled. In the East

Ceylon and the Dutch settlements surrendered, together with 7 ships of the line. In the close of the year, the enemy made his unsuccessful attempt on Ireland, but was compelled to return, with the loss of a ship of the line and two frigates. Such was the state of affairs when the English government applied for passports, for the ambassador to treat for peace, and Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris in that character.

The new parliament met on the 6th of October, and his majesty informed the houses that he had omitted no endeavors for setting on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe. But nothing, he observed, could contribute so effectually to this end, as to manifest that we possessed both the determination and resources to oppose, with increased activity and energy, the farther efforts with which we might have to contend. The motion for the address gave occasion for a most eloquent speech from the chancellor of the exchequer. He and Mr. Fox were the only speakers. The latter gentleman did not oppose the address, but he entered at large into subjects of doubt and complaint. Mr. P. spoke in reply. There are certainly many topics said he, on which the right honorable gentleman has touched in the course of his speech in which I now differ with him, as much as ever I differed at any former period; but, with respect to the great and substantial object of the address, the propriety of the conduct employed to bring about a solid and durable peace, such a peace as may be consistent with the permanent security and the just pretensions of the country, there does not subsist even the slightest shade of difference. That object is found to command the most full and most unequivocal support. Such a circumstance I must indeed consider as matter of just pride and of honest satisfaction. I look with still higher pleasure to the concurrence now expressed in the object of the address, as the pledge of general unanimity, and the omen of great exertions, if unfortunately that object should not be obtained. If the enemy are still actuated by ambitious projects, we shall unmask them in the eyes of Europe; we shall expose the injustice of their policy, and their insatiable thirst of aggrandizement, and if no other advantage be gained, we at least shall be able to put to the proof the sincerity of that pledge which this day has been given—that if the enemy are not disposed to accede to peace on just and reasonable terms, the war will be supported by the unanimous voice and the collected force of the nation. If the unanimity of this day be accompanied with such views, if it is not an unanimity founded merely upon the pleasing sound of peace, the captivating charm of renewed tranquillity, and the prospect of the termination of those scenes of horror and calamity with which war is always attended, such an unanimity would indeed be fatal to the country; but if it is an unanimity, the result of rational and manly reflection, founded upon a careful consideration of the situation of the country, and prepared to meet every conjuncture, I shall then consider the unanimity of this day as the happiest era in the history of the country. The right honorable gentleman has intimated as his opinion, that we must change the whole system of our interior policy, and at the same time reprobated in the severest terms, laws which were passed during the last parliament, and declared

that he could not subscribe to any construction of that part of his majesty's speech which included those among the laws, the energy and wisdom of which had contributed to secure the tranquillity of the country. Having made this declaration, it would be unfair and uncandid on my part not to be equally explicit. I desire no gentleman to vote for the address upon any such qualification with respect to those laws. I am firmly of opinion, that, exclusive of their influence, the peace of the country could not have been so successfully maintained, nor can I suffer the smallest reproach to fall upon the character of the last parliament, who displayed their wisdom and their energy in providing a remedy so suitable to the alarming nature of the crisis. The right hon. gentleman seemed to consider, from the language of the address, that endeavours have only been made of late to procure peace. If ever the day shall come when an examination shall be instituted into the steps which have been adopted to secure the re-establishment of the general tranquillity, I am confident that no endeavors for that purpose will be found to be wanting on the part of ministers. But gentlemen must be sensible, that what may be admitted as an endeavor to restore peace, depends upon a variety of circumstances: It depends on the relative state of parties, on the number of allies with whom we may be engaged to act, on the degree of attention we pay to their interests, and on the concert we wish to preserve with them. Taking all these considerations into view, I again pledge myself that it will be found in the result of inquiry, that ministers have neglected no opportunity which could have been improved for the purpose of accelerating peace. As to the question of our resources, the right honorable gentleman admits them to be extensive and flourishing. They furnish indeed, in a moment like the present, a subject of peculiar congratulation and well-grounded confidence. If the revenue, after a four years' war, and after all the additional burthens which have been imposed, still keeps up to the rate at which it was stated last year; that circumstance is surely no slight cause of satisfaction. Mr. P. then said, that commerce was in the most flourishing state, and that the exports had been equal to what they were in 1792. These resources have in them nothing hollow or delusive; they are the result of an accumulated capital, of gradually increasing commerce, of high and established credit. They are the fruits of fair exertion, of laudable ingenuity, of successful industry; they have been produced under a system of order and of justice, while we under many disadvantages, have been contending against a country which exhibits in every respect the reverse of the picture—a proof that the regular operation of those principles must triumph over the unnatural and exhausting efforts of violence and extortion. The right hon. gentleman had wasted a good deal of ingenuity in attempting to prove that the speech ought to have contained an express acknowledgment of the French government. It ought to have occurred to him that a passport having been sent for and granted, some communication must have taken place on that occasion; and as the directory had been satisfied with the form of communication, and the mode in which they had been addressed, it could not be necessary for him to start a difficulty where they had found none. I can assure

him, on the part of the British ministers, that no question of etiquette, no difficulty of form originating from them, shall be permitted to stand in the way of negociation, or to obstruct the attainment of the great object of peace. As to the other points, the right honorable gentleman has suggested what lessons we ought to derive from the experience of adversity. How far the situation of this country is that of adversity, let those pronounce who are best acquainted with the state of our resources. It cannot surely be termed a state of adversity from any losses of our trade, the diminution of our capital, or from the reduction of any of our foreign possessions. We have not been greatly impoverished by the events of the war in the East and West Indies. We cannot be much weakened in our national strength, even upon the statement of the right honorable gentleman, by having our navy, in consequence of repeated triumphs over every hostile squadron, raised to a greater degree of glory and of fame, than it had ever before obtained. Where, then, are we to look for the symptoms of this adversity? While the violence of France has been over-running so great a part of Europe, and every where carrying desolation in its progress, your naval exertions have enabled you to counterbalance their successes, by acquisitions in different parts of the globe, and to pave the way for the restoration of peace to your allies, on terms which their own strength might have been unable to procure. If you look indeed to the geographical situation of the seat of war, the emperor has not regained by his recent victories all that he had formerly lost. But do you count for nothing the destruction and ruin of those armies, by whom all the previous successes of the enemy had been achieved? Do you count for nothing the glorious and immortal testimony that has been exhibited to mankind, that disciplined valour must finally triumph over those principles that the war was undertaken to oppose, and which owed all their extraordinary and unaccountable successes to the violence in which they originated, and the excesses with which they were accompanied? Recent events have served also to exculpate the characters of those who were calumniated as desirous to embrace their principles, and receive their laws; and in Germany they have left behind them nothing but the memory of their wrongs, and a feeling of eternal resentment. Are such effects to be considered as of small importance, or to be put in competition with the reduction of a fortress, or the possession of a district? Of the virtues to be acquired in the school of adversity, the right honorable gentleman only mentioned those of moderation and forbearance. Moderation I should consider as that virtue which is best adapted to the dawn of prosperity; there are other virtues of no less importance, which are to be acquired under a reverse of fortune, and which are equally becoming in those who are called to suffer:—these are the virtues of adversity endured, and adversity resisted;—of adversity encountered, and of adversity surmounted. The recent example of Germany has furnished an illustrious instance of public fortitude and perseverance having had their merited reward. These are lessons which I trust, this country has not to learn. England has never shewn itself deficient in firmness and magnanimity: it is unrivalled in resource;

it has always been foremost in the career of honorable exertion, and it has only to maintain its accustomed vigour and perseverance, to effect the restoration of general tranquillity, upon terms consistent with the dignity of its own character, and the security and interest of Europe.

A clause in his majesty's speech had declared the king's apprehension that the enemy were preparing an invasion upon this island. Mr. Pitt, on the 18th of October, recommended measures for repelling all attempts. For this purpose he formed a plan for levying fifteen thousand men from the different parishes for the sea service, and another for recruiting the regular regiments. In the projected levies for the land service, he considered two objects; first, the means of calling together a land force sufficient of itself to repel an invasion, even independently of our naval armaments; and secondly, to adopt such measures in the levies as should not materially interfere with the agriculture, commerce, and general industry of this kingdom. He then proposed a supplementary levy of militia, to be grafted on the old establishment, of sixty thousand men; not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and completely trained, so as to be fit for service at a moment of danger. He also proposed to provide a considerable force of irregular cavalry, to be levied in the following manner: every person who kept ten horses, should be obliged to provide one horse and one horseman, to serve in a corps of militia; and those who kept more than ten, should provide in the same proportion; and that those that kept fewer than ten, were to form themselves into classes, in which it should be decided by ballot, who, at the common expense, should provide the horse and the horseman. These troops were to be furnished with uniform and accoutrements, arranged into corps, and put under proper officers. The whole number of cavalry proposed to be raised by this mode was twenty thousand: the other supplemental troops amounted to seventy-five thousand men. Among the means proposed for internal defence, a bill was introduced by Mr. Dundas, for raising and embodying a militia in Scotland, and an act for that purpose was passed without opposition. The whole land forces of the country, intended for the year 1797, was to consist of one hundred and ninety-five thousand, six hundred and ninety-four, and the navy was to amount to a hundred and twenty thousand men. The pecuniary supplies of the year were thirty-one millions borrowed, besides the annual income. Mr. Pitt continued to display great financial skill in exempting the very lower class from the severest pressure of the new taxes, though the principal part bore very heavily on the comforts and accommodations of the middling ranks; the fresh imposts were upon tea, coffee, spirits, sugars, and various other articles of daily and general consumption; upon assessed taxes; postage, stage-coaches and canal navigation;—the budget was opened on the 7th of December. It is in connection with the general subject of finance, to introduce a plan that was proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and which met with general approbation—viz. the funding of the navy and exchequer bills; the former amounting nearly to twelve millions, the latter to two millions and a half.

On the 14th of December Mr. Fox moved, "that his majesty's ministers, having authorised and directed, at different times, without the consent, and during the sitting of parliament, the issue of various sums of money, for the service of his Imperial Majesty, and also for the service of the army under the Prince of Conde, have acted contrary to their duty, and to the trust reposed in them, and have therefore violated the constitutional privileges of this house." On this occasion Mr. Pitt manifested great eloquence in his defence. After much prefatory matter, respecting a concession which Mr. Fox had been obliged to make, in admitting that the right of the house, to dispose of the public money, was subject to some limitations, he shewed from parliamentary history, that the measure now attacked was not unprecedented nor unconstitutional. In the present case, he contended still, that it was expedient and necessary. The nature of a vote of credit, said Mr. Pitt, I consider to be such as gives a power to administration to apply the sum to any exigence that may occur. I am well aware that every distribution of public money adopted by ministers is a matter of legal discussion, subject to the revision and the controul of parliament, and that their vigilance in respecting such distribution becomes even more necessary in proportion to the extent of the sum, and the emergency of the crisis; but if the necessity of the supply is increased by the difficulty of the circumstances under which it must be granted: if to divulge the object would be attended with danger, is it fair to put the utility and importance of the operations achieved under those circumstances, altogether out of the question? With respect to the sums granted to the emperor, one thing is evident, that the measure which has been adopted has succeeded, which, if attempted in any other way, might in all probability have failed of its object. I ask gentlemen, what are their own feelings in the present moment with respect to the situation of the country in the present contest, and I request them to look back to the months of July and August, when the French were pursuing their triumphant career with an impetuosity which seemed to defy all opposition, and to threaten the general subjugation of Europe. Let them contemplate the slow, firm, measured and magnanimous retreat of the gallant Austrian army, and the consequences which followed from a retreat only calculated to ensure the success of their future operations. Will they then ask themselves, dry as the question may be, when so animated a subject is presented to the mind, how far the assurance of the aid which this country was disposed to grant, may have invigorated the spirit of a country making its utmost efforts to resist an invading foe, how far it may have given confidence to their resources, and enabled them to prosecute that line of operations which has been attended with such distinguished success? With these considerations in his view, is there any man who can regard as a matter of consequence, whether the expense of 900,000*£*. or 1,200,000*£*. has been incurred to the country? Is there any man who would be willing, for the sake of so paltry a saving, to give up our share in promoting a service which has terminated so honorably for the character of our allies, and so beneficially for the general interests of Europe?

Who would not rejoice that he was admitted into a partnership so illustrious, and accompanied with such brilliant success?

“ ————— *Me credite Lesbon,*

“ *Me Tenedon, Chrysenque & Cyllan Apollinis urbes,*

“ *Et Scyron cepisse, Meâ concussa putate*

“ *Procubuisse solo Lyrnesia mania dextra.*”

The public are not so dead or so insensible as either to be ignorant of the advantages which have been obtained or ungrateful towards those to whose gallant exertions they are indebted on the present occasion. There is not a man, even the meanest individual in the country, who will not feel himself more than repaid for the small quota he will be required to bring forward in aid of the public service, by the important benefits which have been secured to the general interest of Europe. At the meeting of the present parliament, those with whom I was in the habit of confidential intercourse, will be enabled to state to the house, that I looked with the utmost anxiety to the period when I should be enabled to make to the house the communication of every step that had taken place in the business. Yet in all this the right honourable gentleman sees nothing but a deliberate intention to violate the rights of parliament. He can perceive no symptom of a wish to save Germany and Great Britain from the imminent dangers with which they were threatened. He thinks that we have only availed ourselves of the opportunity to conceal our attempt against the constitution under the cover of the glory of the Austrian arms; but I must remind him that this resolution to support the arms of our allies was taken at no moment of brilliant success; that it was influenced by no delusive phantom of military glory, it was taken at a moment when the prospects of this country and our allies were the most discouraging. In adopting this resolution at such a moment, ministers gave a pledge of their sincere attachment to the country, and of their firm determination to support its best interests. They were not ignorant of the consequences of their conduct, of the risk of those measures they had adopted, and the responsibility which attached to themselves from the event. In that situation they were called upon to decide; and both the testimony of their former opponents and of wiser men might be brought to prove, that they had adopted that line of conduct which was most safe and prudent for the country. I have now weighed the whole merits of the transaction before the house, and with them I am well content to leave the decision. I throw myself upon your justice, prepared in every case to submit to your decision; but while I bow with the most perfect submission to the determination of the house, I cannot but remark on the extraordinary language which has been used on this question. Ministers have been broadly accused of a wanton and a malignant desire to violate the constitution; it has been stated that no other motive could possibly have actuated their conduct. If a charge of such malignant intention had been brought against men, who have affirmed the present war to be neither just nor necessary, and who, on that ground, cannot be supposed friendly to its success, who have extolled, nay, even exulted in the prodigies of French valour; who have exclaimed against the injustice of bringing to trial persons who had associated to overcome

the legislature; who were anxious to expose and aggravate every defect of the constitution; to reprobate every measure adopted for its preservation, and to obstruct every proceeding of the executive government to ensure the success of our contest in which we are engaged in common with our allies: I say, if such a charge of deliberate and deep-rooted malignity were brought against persons of this description, I should conceive that even then the rules of candid and charitable interpretation would induce us to hesitate in admitting its reality, much more when it is brought against individuals whose conduct, I trust, has exhibited the reverse of the picture I have now drawn. I appeal to the justice of the house; I rely on their candour; but to gentlemen who can suppose ministers capable of the motives which have been imputed to them on this occasion, it must be evident that I can desire to make no such appeal. Mr. Bragge moved an amendment, commending the conduct of ministers, which was carried by 185 against 104.

On the return of Lord Malmesbury, towards the close of 1796, from the unsuccessful negotiation at Paris, the British funds suffered a greater depression than was experienced at any period of the American war.* Insurrections prevailed in many parts of Ireland; an unexampled run on the bank of England was followed by a suspension of payment in specie; and a mutiny of unprecedented extent and inveteracy raged in the navy. His majesty's declaration on the subject of the negotiation was laid before parliament. The substance of this declaration was "that the rupture of the negotiation did not arise from the failure of any sincere attempt on the part of France; but from the determination of that government to reject all means of peace, by an obstinate adherence to a claim which never could be admitted; a claim, which that government rested on the constitution of its own country, to be received by all nations as paramount to every principle and law in Europe, as superior to the obligations of treaties, the ties of common interest, and the most urgent considerations of general security. His majesty, who had entered into this treaty with good faith, had now only to lament its abrupt termination, and to declare, in the face of Europe, that whenever his enemies should be disposed to enter on the work of general pacification, nothing should be wanting, on his part, to contribute to the accomplishment of that great object, which was only retarded by the exorbitant pretensions of his enemies." The message was, on the 30th of December, taken into consideration. Mr. Pitt rose to move the address, and entered upon a most elaborate and detailed statement of the circumstances attending the negotiation—they were these: In the first instance, ministers had applied to the Danish ambassador at London, to transmit, through the Danish envoy at Paris, a declaration, stating his Britannic majesty's desire to conclude a peace, "on just and honorable conditions, and demanding the necessary passports for a person of confidence, whom his majesty would send to Paris, with a commission to discuss with the government there all the measures the most proper to produce so desirable an end." The Danish minister having conveyed to the directory this manifestation of the British intentions,

* The 3 per cent. Consols being so low as 51.

it was replied by the French government, "that the executive government would not receive or answer, from the enemies of the republic, any overtures transmitted through an intermediate channel; but that, if England would send persons furnished with full powers and official papers, they might, upon the frontier, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris." The court of London having applied for passports, nominated Lord Malmesbury; this succeeded the application through Mr. Wickham, which has already been related. The first object of Lord M. was to fix a basis conformably to established usage. This was, "that compensation should be made to France by proportionable restitutions from his Majesty's conquests on that power, for those arrangements to which she should be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just pretensions of his allies and to preserve the political balance of Europe." After some difficulty, this basis was accepted by the French government; they then demanded that Lord M. should specifically bring forward his terms. His Lordship delivered two notes, one signed and one not, the first comprehending the terms of peace between England and France, the other relating to the interests of our allies. This was followed by a captious demand to have it signed by Lord M. This demand was complied with, to deprive them of every pretence for breaking off the negociation, and immediately they call for an ultimatum in twenty-four hours. To comply with this was impossible, and, in consequence, his Lordship received orders to quit Paris in forty-eight hours, and the territories of the republic as soon as possible. The French government after this, signified a wish to renew the negociation by means of couriers, upon a new basis, which was, the retention of all the countries annexed to their republic. Notwithstanding their disavowal of this principle, in the admission of the former basis of the negociation, it is now alleged as a ground for the pretension, that they are entitled, as a matter of right, to demand from this country, that we shall make no proposals inconsistent with the laws and constitution of France. I know of no law of nations, said Mr. Pitt, which can, in the remotest degree, countenance such a monstrous claim. The annexation of territory to any state, by the government of that state during the continuance of war, can never confer a claim which supersedes the treaties of other powers, and the known and public obligation of the different nations of Europe. In my opinion there is no principle of the law of nations clearer than this, that when, in the course of war any nation acquires new possessions, that such nation has only temporary right to them, and that they do not become property till the end of the war. I should not be surprised to hear that Ireland, in consequence of the rumour which has been circulated of their intention to attempt an invasion upon that country, is constitutionally annexed to the territories of the republic, or even that the city of Westminster is a part of indivisible France. And are we then, after all the exertions that we have made, in order to effect the object of general pacification; and after being baffled in all our efforts by the stubborn pride and persevering obstinacy of the French government; after all our propositions have been slighted, and our ambassador insulted, are we now to consent to sacrifice our engagements, and to violate our treaties, because, forsooth, it would

be attended with some inconvenience for them to call their primary assemblies, in order to cancel a law which is incompatible with the principle of fair negotiation. But this is not all the degradation to which they would have us submit. You must also engage to make no propositions which are contrary to the laws of the constitution, and the treaties which bind the republic. Here they introduce a new and extraordinary clause, imposing a restriction still more absurd and unreasonable than the other. The republic of France may have made secret treaties which we know nothing about, and yet that government expects that we are not to permit our propositions to interfere with these treaties. How is it possible for this country to know what secret articles there may be in the treaty between France and Holland? How can we know what the Dutch may have ceded to France, or whether France may not have an oath in heaven never to give up the territories ceded to her by Holland? Who can know but her treaty with Spain contains some secret article, guaranteeing to the latter the restitution of Gibraltar, or some important possession now belonging to his majesty? And how can I know what government France may choose to give to Italy, or what she may be pleased to assign to Germany? In fact, the question is not how much you will give for peace, but how much disgrace you will suffer at the outset—how much degradation you will submit to as a preliminary? In these circumstances then, are we to persevere in the war with a spirit and energy worthy of the British name and of the British character, or are we, by sending couriers to Paris, to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn and supercilious government, to do what they require, and to submit to whatever they may impose? I hope there is not a hand in his majesty's councils that would sign the proposals, that there is not a heart in this house that would sanction the measure, and that there is not an individual in the British dominions who would act as the courier. In answering the speech of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Erskine and Mr. Fox took a general view of the causes and consequences of the war, and said that the minister had this night come forward, in a long and elaborate speech, to shew that the only effect of all our efforts had been, that the enemy had, from success, become more unreasonable in their pretensions, and that all hopes of peace were removed to a greater distance than ever. On these and similar grounds, Mr. Fox, in the house of commons, proposed an address to the king, representing the conduct of our army, in the whole of the war, as ruinous; in this negotiation as a compound of folly and deceit; and describing the country as hastening to destruction, through their infatuated counsels. The address however was negatived, and opposite addresses, approving highly of the general system of ministers, of the principles and conduct of the negotiation, and throwing the whole blame of the rupture upon the French, were carried by most numerous majorities.

On the 27th of Feb. 1797, a message was delivered from his majesty to both houses of parliament, stating "that an unusual demand of specie having been made from different parts of the country on the metropolis, it had been found necessary to make an order of council, to the directors of the bank, prohibiting the issuing of any cash in payment, till the sense of parliament could be taken on

the subject." Mr. Pitt, after some preliminary observations, moved for a secret committee to ascertain the situation of the bank. Mr. Fox, and other members in opposition, contended that the bank had been reduced to a state of insolvency by the infatuation of ministers. The result of the reports however was, "that on the 25th of Feb. the last day of paying gold and silver, there was a surplus of effects belonging to the bank, beyond the total debts, amounting to the sum of 3,826,890*£*. exclusive of a permanent debt of 11,666,800*£*. due from government; that the bank of England had lately experienced an universal drain of cash: that this drain was owing to drafts from the country, which arose from local alarms of invasion; that demands had been of late progressively increasing, but particularly in the last week; and that there was every reason to apprehend, that these demands, and the consequent progressive reduction of cash, would continue and even increase, inasmuch that if it were to proceed in the same proportion, the bank of England would be deprived of the means of supplying the cash which might be necessary for the pressing exigencies of public service;" grounded on these reports, Mr. Pitt proposed a bill, enabling the bank of England to issue notes in payment of demands upon them, instead of cash. The bill was passed into a law. This measure saved the credit of the bank and of the funds, and made money of the various denominations much more plentiful than before.

The mutiny in the fleet now broke out. In this alarm, ministers immediately took the step of transferring the board of admiralty to Portsmouth, and conciliatory terms of a return to duty were proposed and acceded to by the seamen, and their demands having been deemed equitable, they were promised redress. In consequence, however, of some mistrust, the mutiny again broke forth, by the zealous and prudent exertions of Lord Howe, it was appeased. The petition, containing their statement of grievances being laid before parliament, became the subject of discussion on the 8th of May, when Mr. Pitt submitted the estimates for the augmentation of the pay of the navy. To calm at once all discontent, nothing, in his opinion, would be so effectual, as the unanimous decision of parliament on the proposal before them; he, therefore, thought it his duty to entreat the house to pass their silent judgment on the present case, while they coincided with the motion it occasioned him to make. He then moved for a total of 436,000*£*. Opposition, however, accused ministers of procrastination and a scandalous neglect of duty; Mr. Whitbread even moved for a vote of censure, but it was negatived by 237 to 63, and the bill passed. It was hoped that these concessions would have proved satisfactory, but on the 22d of May a mutiny shewed itself at the Nore, and threatened consequences more fatal than that in the other fleets. We need scarcely relate that it was soon terminated, and that the ring-leaders suffered death. In the mean time, this dangerous mutiny had been a serious object of attention in parliament. On the 1st of June, a message was delivered from the king to both houses, to give them formal notice of the event, and to request they would adopt the necessary measures for the public security, and particularly to make more effectual provision for the prevention and punishment

of attempts to excite mutiny and sedition in the navy, or to seduce individuals in the sea or land service, from their duty and allegiance.

On the 3d of March Mr. Whitbread entered into an inquiry relative to the late attempt upon Ireland, which Mr. Pitt answered by asserting that the attack of the French fleet being equally likely to fall upon Portugal and Ireland, ministers had taken every possible precaution, by ordering a squadron to watch their motions, and by having a fleet in port ready to pursue. Weather alone was the cause of their arrival in Bantry Bay, undiscovered. Mr. Pitt concluded his speech, on this occasion, by complaining of Mr. Fox's manner of speaking concerning Ireland, which he considered as violent and inflammatory. On a division of the house, on Mr. Whitbread's motion, the previous question against it was carried by 201 against 62. During this session, great discontents prevailed in Ireland, which ministers imputed to the dissemination of jacobinical principles; and opposition to the system of government which had been adopted since the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam. An address, praying his majesty's interference to allay the discontent in Ireland, was moved by Mr. Fox on the 23d of March, but negatived.

The ministers since the return of Lord Malmesbury's negociation, had declined in popularity, and numerous petitions were presented to the king for their dismissal; their opponents proposed, in both houses of parliament, addresses to his majesty, to remove from his councils his present servants. The grounds both of attack and defence were the same that had been so often discussed in various forms, and the replies those so often repeated. The motions were respectively rejected by both houses. Mr. Grey also renewed his propositions of parliamentary reform, with the same success. His scheme was more definite than before; he proposed that the number of county members should be increased from ninety-two to a hundred and thirteen, eligible not only by freeholders, but by copyholders and leaseholders; and that the other four hundred members should be chosen by all householders. The arguments for and against the proposition were much the same that had been so repeatedly employed.—Parliament rose on the 20th of July, after having sat between nine and ten months.

The campaign of 1797 was so decisively favourable to the French arms, that Buonaparte dictated the treaty of Campo Formio, while he changed the government of Venice and Genoa. The war upon the continent was thus for a time at an end, and England remained with Portugal alone, to sustain the combat. The naval war proved decisively in our favor. Sir John Jervis obtained the victory which gave birth to his present title (Earl St. Vincent). Admiral Duncan annihilated the Dutch fleet off Camperdown at a blow. In France three of the directors had arrested and transported sixty of the deputies who were alleged to be friendly to royalty, with Barthelemi, their colleague, and thus established for a time, their own power. Under these circumstances was Lord Malmesbury sent to Lisle to treat for peace. For the progress and event of the negociation we refer to Mr. Pitt's explanation in parliament, which assembled on the 2d of Nov. In England discontent was much less prevalent than in former years.

The victories of our navy gratified the national sense of honour; the re-appearance of gold and silver proved the responsibility of the bank, and dispelled apprehensions concerning national credit. The abrupt termination of the embassy at Lisle was attributed to the hostility of France, the nation in general deemed the continuance of the war now a measure of necessary self defence, and was disposed to make the greatest exertions. Mr. Fox, together with other leading members of that party, had seceded. The address, therefore, passed with scarcely any opposition. On the 10th, when the papers relative to the negotiation came under consideration; Sir John Sinclair moved an amendment to the address. Mr. Pitt, in reply, distinctly separated the wishes of the people from the intention of the government of France. After much preliminary remark upon the prominent arguments of Sir John Sinclair's speech, he proceeded to an animated relation of the circumstances of the negotiation. He recapitulated the facts which took place on Lord M's embassy to Paris, and said, in spite of the insulting termination of that negociation, his majesty had determined to renew his application for peace. The directory began by a procedure contrary to general usage; they would receive no proposal for preliminaries, but insisted that conferences to conclude a definitive treaty should at once be held. It was acceded to. In granting a passport, they inserted a condition relative to the minister's powers, and that, inconsistent with his majesty's explanation; the passport was for a minister coming to conclude a *separate* peace. His majesty declared he had no choice between a preliminary and definitive treaty, but his good faith to his ally the queen of Portugal would not permit his acceding to a *separate* peace. It was then agreed that France should treat for Holland and Spain, and England for Portugal. In spite of these obstacles, and others more minute, Lord M. arrived at Lisle, and the powers were exchanged, and were allowed to be unexceptionable, although three months afterwards the supposed defect of these powers was made the cause of the rupture of the negociation. In the exalted situation this nation held relatively to France, who had nothing to restore to Great Britain, a project was delivered by the British plenipotentiary, which agreed to give up the conquests we had made, with certain exceptions; for these a blank was left, in order to ascertain whether France intended to divide the compensations between her and her allies. She had, however, no difficulty to declare, that she must retain every thing for herself. What, Sir, was it we offered to renounce to France? in one word, all that we had taken from them; and for what were these renunciations to be made? For peace, and for peace only. And to whom? To a nation which had obtained from his majesty's dominions in Europe, nothing in the course of the war, which had never met our fleets but to add to the catalogue of our victories, and to swell the melancholy lists of their own captures and defeats. Our proposal was allowed by the French ministers and transmitted to the directory. Months had elapsed in sending couriers from Lisle to Paris, while we, whom they had summoned a definitive treaty, only were to stop and discuss preliminary points—we were to discuss whether his majesty would relinquish the title of king of

France, a harmless feather, at most, in the crown of England—whether we would restore the ships taken at Toulon—the acquisition of valour, and which we were intitled, on every ground, to hold—whether we would renounce the mortgage we might possess in the Netherlands, and which engaged so much of the worthy baronet's attention. But what he considers as so important was of no importance at all—we have none. We told them the true state of the case, and that it was not worth talking about. It was next demanded we should consent to give up all we had taken, and then to hear what we had further to ask. Is it possible to suppose that such a thing could be listened to by any country that was not prepared to prostrate itself at the feet of France, and in that abject posture to adore its conqueror, to solicit new insults, to submit to demands still more degrading and ignominious, and to concede at once the honor of the British name? His majesty had no hesitation in refusing to comply with such insolent and unwarrantable demands. His majesty's firmness, however, drew new assurances of the most pacific intentions and new promises of the *contre projet*. The same offensive demands were, nevertheless, soon after renewed on the part of the directory, and Lord M. was finally desired to go to England for fresh powers. Mr. P. having thus stated the progress and issue of the negociation, concluded in these words: there is one great resource, which I trust will never abandon us, and which has shone forth in the English character, by which we have preserved our existence and fame as a nation, which I trust we shall be determined never to abandon under any extremity, but shall join hand and heart in the solemn pledge that is proposed to us, and declare to his majesty, *that we know great exertions are wanting, that we are prepared to make them, and at all events determined to stand or fall by the LAWS, LIBERTIES, and RELIGION of our country.* Such was the influence of this speech, that it seemed to satisfy all doubts and silence all opposition. Sir J. Sinclair confessed he was not insensible of the weight of the arguments adduced, and withdrew his motion.

On the 23d of November Mr. Pitt brought forward his annual statement of accounts. The expense of the year amounted to 25 1-2 millions. In order to furnish a supply, he declared it to be his intention to have recourse to a perfectly new and solid system of finance. Of this sum 6 1-2 millions would arise from the unappropriated produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills and unmortgaged taxes, 19 millions were then to be provided for, seven of these he proposed to raise within the year by a new impost, which should be regulated by the existing assessed taxes in a triplicate proportion to their actual amount—limited, however, to the tenth of each person's income, and modified according to circumstances. Of the remaining twelve millions, four might be borrowed without creating any additional debt; the produce of the sinking fund, old and new, appropriated to the purpose of liquidating the national debt, being equal to that amount. For the other eight millions, he proposed that the triple assessment be continued till the principal and interest be completely discharged; so that after seven millions should be raised for the service of the year, the same taxes, in little more than another

year, would pay off the eight millions thus borrowed, with the intermediate interest. The bill was opposed with much severity in every stage; and on the second reading, Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan again made their appearance in the house. An additional clause was proposed by Mr. Addington, allowing voluntary contributions, and adopted. The bill finally passed, by a majority of 196 to 71.

On the 27th of March, 1798, Mr. Dundas moved for leave to bring in his bill, for the defence of the realm, which gave rise to the volunteer associations. The alien and the habeas corpus suspension bills were revived. Mr. Pitt also proposed a financial measure for the redemption, or rather the commutation, of the land-tax; its object was to absorb a large quantity of stock, and in the process to transfer a great portion of the national debt into a landed security. The quantity of stock thus transferred was in its amount to equal at least, the quantity of land-tax, which, by this means, should be extinguished, and become applicable to the public service. The amount of the land-tax is two millions sterling; the minister proposed to set it up at twenty years' purchase, when the three per cents. were at fifty, with a proportionable rise of purchase, according to their increasing price. Forty millions sterling, the present amount of the land-tax, at twenty years' purchase, would amount to eighty millions, 3 per cents. stock at fifty, affording an interest of 2,400,000*l.* and leaving a clear gain to the revenue of 400,000*l.* a year. To simplify the operation, the purchase was to be made in stock, and not in money; the proprietor was to have the opportunity of pre-emption, as the land-tax was not to be offered to sale to third persons, until the expiration of a certain period, to be given to the proprietor of the land to make his arrangements for the purchase; afterwards it was redeemable by the proprietor, on replacing to the original purchaser the same quantity of 3 per cent. stock which he paid as the price of his purchase. This scheme encountered strong objections, but these were over-ruled, and a bill conformable to Mr. Pitt's plan was passed into a law.

The alarm at invasion, not only continuing but increasing, and the French having by this time assembled a vast force on the opposite side of the channel, the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 25th of May, moved for a bill for the more effectual manning of the navy. The chief object he had in view was the temporary suspension of protections, and it was his wish that the bill should that day pass through its different stages. Mr. Tierney expressed his belief that the augmentation of the navy might be provided for in the usual way. No arguments had been offered to prove the propriety of such an extraordinary deviation from the common practice of that house; nor was he prepared to give three or four votes without some deliberation and reflection in favor of a bill which, like all the other measures of ministry, he considered as decidedly hostile to the liberty of the subject. Mr. Pitt rose in great warmth, and said "that if every measure adapted against the designs of France was to be considered as hostile to the liberties of this country, then indeed his idea of liberty differed widely from that of the honorable gentleman. Were the present bill not passed in a day, it was obvious that those whom it concerned might elude its effects: but if the measure was necessary, and that a previous

notice would render it inefficient, how could the honorable gentleman's opposition to it be accounted for, but from a desire to obstruct the defence of the country?" Mr. Tierney now rose, and called the chancellor of the exchequer to order; and the speaker interposing with that dignified impartiality which has ever marked his conduct, observed, that whatever had a tendency to throw suspicion on the sentiments of a member, if conveyed in language that clearly marked such intention, was certainly irregular. This the house would judge of, but they would wait to hear the honorable gentleman's explanation. Mr. Pitt replied, "that if the house waited for his explanation, he feared it must wait a long time. He submitted what he had said to the judgment of the house, and would not depart from any thing he had advanced, by either retracting or explaining his words." Mr. Tierney immediately left the house, a challenge was sent from that gentleman to Mr. Pitt, and a duel fought between them on the ensuing Sunday. The following article appeared in the public prints, on Monday, May 28.—We are authorised to state, that in consequence of what passed on Friday last, Mr. Pitt, accompanied by Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Tierney, accompanied by Sir George Walpole, met at three o'clock yesterday afternoon, on Putney heath. After some ineffectual attempts, on the part of the seconds, to prevent farther proceedings, the parties took their ground at the distance of twelve paces. A case of pistols was fired at the same moment, without effect; a second case was also fired in the same manner, Mr. Pitt firing his pistol in the air: the seconds then jointly interfered, and insisted that the matter should go no farther, it being their decided opinion that sufficient satisfaction had been given, and that the business was ended with perfect honor to both parties.

The state of Ireland now became the frequent subject of inquiry and animadversion, but ministry represented the circumstances as too critical for discussion. The slave trade abolition was once more negatived, and the session was ended on the 27th of June. It was during this year that the plans of the United Irishmen, which had been concerted with the French government to aid their invasion, and finally to establish Ireland as an independent republic, became known.—Conciliatory measures were proposed by opposition, but the ministry conceived, that, though generally successful if applied before the passions of men are inflamed, they would now come too late. Vigorous means were therefore adopted.—Troops were sent over, of which the English militia having been permitted to volunteer the service, formed a part, and the insurrection was subdued. In the mean time Lord Camden was recalled, and Marquis Cornwallis, who united great military talents to extensive civil knowledge, succeeded him. This nobleman's judicious plans tended much to quiet and prepare Ireland for a permanent system, which might prevent the recurrence of much evil. Sir J. B. Warren's victory over the French squadron, which brought assistance to the insurgents, also contributed to extinguish the rebellion. The threats of invasion were continued, and the nation was in arms. But the French were secretly preparing the Egyptian expedition, which sailed and after landing the troops, it will ever be proudly remembered, was encountered and overcome by Admiral

Nelson. In pursuance of the treaty of Campo Formio, a congress was now sitting at Rastadt. Russia seemed to enter earnestly into the war; the Porte incensed at the landing in Egypt, declared against France; and the Americans, indignant at the conduct of the French to their shipping, were also preparing to take part if the negotiation should fail. The British ministers had recovered, in a great degree, their popularity—so powerful is the influence of success—when parliament met on the 20th of November. Opposition still continued their secession and the address was carried with only one dissenting voice.

On the 3d of Dec the minister, in a speech of uncommon length and excellence, developed his plans of finance for the year; the sum total of the supplies required, was 29,272,000£. The ways and means for which there were the usual resources, in the duties substituted in lieu of the land tax, now made perpetual, the lottery, the consolidated fund, and imports and exports, extended to the amount of 6,150,000£. The remainder of the sum total of the supplies for the year, remained to be raised, either by a tax within the year, in the same manner as the assessed tax bill of last year, or by a loan, was upwards of 23 millions. Last session, the plan of trebling the assessed taxes, not only was taken to furnish a certain portion of the supplies of the year, but part of its produce was assigned for the extinction of such part of the loan of eight millions as was not covered by the sinking fund. Voluntary contributions had made up the deficit on the assessed taxes; and the superior produce of the exports and imports beyond the estimate of ways and means, had brought the amount of the sums to be raised to that of 7 1-2 millions, at which they had been calculated. The produce of the assessed taxes, which he had estimated at 4,500,000£. under all the modifications they had undergone, and all the evasions and tricks with which so many persons had shifted the public burden from their own shoulders, was yet four millions. Instead of 1,500,000£. the voluntary contributions already exceeded two millions; and the sum of 7 1-2 millions, for which credit had been taken, and had been effective to the public service. These particulars, respecting the estimate of 1798, being premised, Mr. Pitt proceeded to state a new plan for raising a very considerable part of the supplies within the year, and of course proportionably diminishing that of the sum to be borrowed. This was by a tax on income. The commissioners who should be invested with power of fixing every one's income, should be persons of a respectable situation in life, and men of integrity and independence; and peculiar provisions were framed to secure such a choice. No persons whose incomes were under 60£. a year should pay any thing, every one should state what the sum was, which he was willing to contribute under a declaration, that what he so contributed was not less than one tenth of his income. But the next point to be considered, was in what manner the declaration of the parties should be checked and ascertained. The mode Mr. Pitt would propose, was, that it should be made the duty of some officers in each district, to lay before the commissioners any grounds of doubt which they might entertain. When these grounds of doubt should be transmitted to the commissioners, they should have

the power of requiring a specification of income arising from the different branches, and according to the forms prescribed by a schedule annexed to the act. If the commissioners should not be satisfied, they might require another specification. Individuals also might state in what they had been overcharged. If the commissioners should not be satisfied with the schedule given in, they should have, in that case, the power to proceed to examinations by oath; but they should have no power to compel a man to answer—they should neither have authority to call for books, nor to examine clerks or agents. If, however, the party examined should withhold any information on these points, it should rest with the commissioners to form their own opinion, and their judgment should be final, unless the party chose to appeal to the highest order of the commissioners; but, even in that case, no books or papers should be examined. If the party should be unwilling to produce those papers, he must acquiesce in the decision which the commissioners should come to upon such other information as it might be in their power to obtain. Such information the commissioners should be strictly sworn not to disclose, nor to avail themselves of it for any purpose separate from the execution of the act. If however any information should be made upon oath, which the commissioners should think to be false, they might carry on a prosecution for perjury. Mr. Pitt proceeded to propose certain exemptions from disclosure of income: abatements and allowances in favour of certain descriptions of persons; and next to consider the probable amount of the tax.—Having reviewed the general sources of wealth in this country, he stated the national income to be 102,000,000*l.* annually, clear of all deductions; on this sum, a tax of 10 per cent. was likely to produce 10,000,000*l.* a year. Mr. Pitt having thus explained the nature and object of his present plan of finance, observed, that it was founded on an extension of the general principle of that financial measure which had been adopted last session of parliament. If the committee had seen the advantages of that principle, imperfect as it was, in comparison of that of the present measure, they would find something better than reason to induce them to adhere to it: they would find that their own experience decided in its favor. Among all the various circumstances in which resided the hopes of our enemies abroad, of all the causes that chiefly aggravated the fears of those who were most desponding at home, there were none which more forcibly operated than the hopes on the one hand and the fears on the other, of increasing our funded debt. It was not so much the power, enmity, or extravagance of the enemy that excited apprehension, but that we should trust to the usual resources of the country till they failed; and that no others could be substituted in their place, without danger and mischief resulting from them. We have, however, had the satisfaction of knowing, that now, under the accumulated burdens of protracted war, after a period of six years of arduous contest, after events alarming to the public credit of the kingdom, we have seen, after all this, the country on a sudden rousing herself, and adopting new means of vigor and exertion, distinguishing herself and surpassing the proudest period of the British history. We have had the

happiness of becoming instrumental in producing the glorious change which has taken place; but let it be recollected that it is not those events which are the most dazzling and striking, that, perhaps, have had the largest share in producing the favourable change in the situation and prospects of the country. It is true all this is to be ascribed to the secrecy and vigilance displayed in our naval departments, the disposition of our maritime strength; but they are to be ascribed more immediately to the transcendant, the unequalled abilities, and intrepidity and skill of our commanders, to whose merits I cannot do justice. There has been shewn a degree of fervent zeal, of perseverance, of ardour, of resolution on the part of British seamen, by which their character is raised in the estimation of the world. But while this valour and activity have averted the impending storm, do not let us forget that the power of employing such a force is to be attributed to the circumstance of our possessing the pecuniary resources necessary to furnish that force. The resources for our national defence have arisen from the firmness and inflexible perseverance of parliament; from the zeal, magnanimity and decision in promoting the public interest, which have characterised all classes of British subjects. They have had the satisfaction of being instrumental in the salvation of themselves and the rest of the world, and of vindicating their insulted honors. We have seen a mercantile country, arm themselves for the defence of their country. We have happily seen them, without any diminution of that mercantile pursuit which furnishes their resources, display the noblest instances of magnanimity, and persons from whose situations and habits it would least have been expected, shew a degree of military zeal and enthusiasm which has given us all the advantages of a military nation, without any diminution of those other advantages which are more felt than cherished among us. I must believe there is not a man who would be disposed to question the policy of the conduct which we have adopted. When we have the satisfaction of knowing that by performing our duty we have consulted our immediate interest as much as our permanent security; we can have no hesitation in adhering to the same line of conduct, and following up that system which has been productive of so much benefit. On these grounds, therefore, he would propose a set of resolutions on the plan which he had submitted to their consideration. The bill finally passed by a great majority. It was, however, justly unpopular, from its imposing the heaviest burdens upon the middling classes, and from its great exposure of private concerns. The other taxes were laid on sugar, coffee, bills of exchange and stamps.

A provisional treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, December 18, 1798. His Britannic majesty engaged to furnish the pecuniary succours, 225,000*l.* sterling for the first and most urgent expences; of which 75,000*l.* was to be paid as soon as the troops had passed the Russian frontier. It was also stipulated, that his Britannic majesty should pay for a campaign of eight months, a subsidy of 112,500*l.* per month—two-thirds of the sum to be immediately paid, the other third at the conclusion of a peace. The Emperor, on his part, was to bring to the field forty-five thousand men, in cavalry and

infantry, with the necessary artillery. The contracting parties engaged not to make either peace or armistice without including each other in the treaty. A message from his majesty stated this convention to parliament, and the requisite subsidy was proposed by ministers. Mr Pitt, in a very eloquent speech, enlarged on the merits of the prince, who now swayed the Russian sceptre. From the praises of Paul, Mr. Pitt passed to those of the people of England. "There is," said he, "a high spirited pride, an elevated loyalty, a generous warmth of heart, a nobleness of spirit, a hearty hilarity and manly gaiety that distinguish our nation, in which we are to look for the best pledges of general safety, and of that security against general usurpation, which other nations, in their weakness or their folly, have no where found. With respect to that which appeared so much to embarrass certain gentlemen, *the deliverance of Europe*, he would not say particularly what it was; whether from the infection of false principles, the corroding cares of a period of distraction and dismay, or the dissolution of all governments, and death of all social order and religion. Will then gentlemen continue to regard with suspicion the conduct of the Emperor of Russia? Has he not sufficiently shewn his devotion to the cause in which we are engaged, by the kind, and number, and value of his sacrifices, ultimately to prevail in the struggle against a tyranny, which, in changing our point of vision, we every where find accompanied in its desolating progress, by degradation, misery and nakedness, to the unhappy victims of its power—a tyranny which has magnified and strengthened its powers to do mischief in the proportion that the legitimate and venerable fabrics of civilized and polished society have declined from the meridian of their glory, and lost the power of doing good—a tyranny which strides across the ill-fated domain of France, its foot armed with the scythe of oppression and indiscriminate proscription, that touches only to blight, and rests only to destroy—the reproach and the curse of the infatuated people who still continue to acknowledge it. In my view of security, every object of ambition and aggrandizement is abandoned. Our simple object is security, just security, with a little mixture of indemnification. But wishing to be understood, I answer the honorable gentleman when he asks, "Does the right honorable gentleman mean to prosecute the war until the French republic is overthrown? Is it his determination not to treat with France while it continues a republic?" I answer, I do not confine my views to the territorial limits of France; I contemplate the principles, character, and conduct of France; I consider what these are; I see in them the issues of destruction, of infamy and ruin, to every state in her alliance; and, therefore, I say, that until the aspect of that mighty mass of iniquity and folly is entirely changed, until, by the common consent of the general voice of all men, I can with truth tell parliament, France is no longer terrible for her contempt of the rights of every other nation—she no longer avows schemes of universal empire—she has settled into a state, whose government can maintain those relations in their integrity, in which alone civilized communities are to find their security, there can be no safety in peace. Such are my sentiments. I am not afraid to avow them. I commit them to the

thinking among mankind; and if they have not been poisoned by the stream of French sophistry, and prejudiced by her falsehood, I am sure they will approve of the determination I have avowed, for those grave and mature reasons on which I found it.

It was in this period of the session that the grand and important measure of the union of Ireland and Great Britain became the subject of parliamentary consideration. On the 22d of January, a message on that subject was received from his majesty by both houses of parliament. His majesty, after adverting to the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevered in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, recommended it to the lords and commons "to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating that design, by disposing the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they should judge the most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment, as might best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential for their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire." On the following day, when this message was taken into consideration, Mr. Dundas introduced a motion, the substance of which was, "that the house would proceed, with all due dispatch, to the consideration of the several interests recommended in his majesty's gracious message to their serious attention." Mr. Sheridan said, that before ministers recommended to the house of commons to take measures that led inevitably to the discussion of some plan of union, it was incumbent on them to have shewn, that the last pledge of the English parliament to the people of Ireland, by which their independence was recognized, and their rights acknowledged, had not produced that unanimity which the parliaments of the two countries ought to cherish. He then entered at large into the question, and concluded by moving an amendment, which went to state, that "there appeared to be an intention of effecting an union, and to implore his majesty not to listen to those who might advise such a measure at the present crisis." Mr. Pitt did not think it necessary to enter fully into the important details which the subject before them naturally suggested, and although he spoke at some length in reply to Mr. Sheridan, we pass on to his speech when the question was resumed, as it contains all that can be said upon the subject in the most eloquent form. Mr. Sheridan withdrew his amendment, and the original motion was put and carried. Soon after this, intelligence was received by the British government, that the proposal for an union, which had been laid before the Irish parliament, had been rejected. It was carried in the upper house by a great majority, but lost in the commons by one vote.

On Thursday, January 31, 1799, the order of the day for taking his majesty's message, relative to an union with Ireland, into consideration being read, Mr. Pitt rose and said, that when he proposed to the house that measure the last time, in order to fix the present day for its farther consideration, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication to the parliament of Ireland, would have opened a more favourable prospect than at present existed, of its speedy accomplishment. But while he admitted and respected the

rights of the parliament of Ireland, he felt, that, as a member of the parliament of Great Britain, he also had a right to exercise, and a duty to perform. That duty was to express, as distinctly as he could, the general nature and outline of the plan, which, in his conscience, he thought would tend, in the strongest manner, to ensure the safety and happiness of both kingdoms. If parliament, after full explanation, and mature deliberation, should be of the same opinion, he would propose that its determination should remain recorded as that by which the parliament of Great Britain were ready to abide, leaving to the legislature of Ireland to reject or adopt it hereafter, upon a full consideration of the measure. I do entertain a confidence, continued Mr. P. even under the apparent discouragement of the opinion expressed by the Irish house of commons, that this measure is founded upon such clear, such demonstrable grounds of utility; is so calculated to add to the strength and power of the empire, (in which the safety of Ireland is included, and from which it never can be separated) and is attended with so many advantages to Ireland in particular, that all that can be necessary for its ultimate adoption is, that it should be stated distinctly, temperately and fully, and that it should be left to the unprejudiced, the dispassionate, the sober judgment of the parliament of Ireland. I am the more encouraged in this hope of the ultimate success of this measure when I see that barely more than one half of the members that attended the house of commons were adverse to it; and that in the other house of parliament in Ireland, containing, as it does, so large a portion of the property of that kingdom, it was approved by a great majority. When I have reason to believe that the sentiments of a large party of the people of that country are favourable to it; and that much of the manufacturing and of the commercial interests of Ireland are already sensible how well it is calculated to promote their advantage, I think that it will still terminate in that which can alone be a fortunate result. Let me ask, what is the situation of affairs that has called us to the discussion of this subject? This very connection, the necessity of which has been admitted on all hands, has been attacked by foreign enemies and by domestic traitors. The dissolution of this connection is the great object of the hostility of our common enemies; let us profit by the designs of those who, if their conduct displays no true wisdom, at least possess that species of wisdom which is calculated for the promotion of mischief. The settlement which was made in 1782 consisted in the demolition of the system which before held the two countries together. Such was the final adjustment of 1782; and I can prove it to be so, not only from the plainest reasoning, but I can prove it by the opinion expressed by the British parliament at that very time. I can prove it by the opinion expressed by those very ministers by whom it was proposed and conducted. On a former night, I read an extract from the journals, to shew what was the opinion even of those by whom the final adjustment was proposed. It would then appear, that the message was sent to the parliament of Ireland, recommending to them the adoption of some plan for a final adjustment between the two countries; in answer to this, the parliament of Ireland stated certain grievances, the principal of which

was, the powers claimed by the parliament of Great Britain of making laws to bind Ireland. On that ground was moved the repeal of what was called the declaratory act; which motion was assented to by the British parliament. I beg farther to state, that after the motion for the bill, of which so much has been said, was passed, an address to his majesty was moved and carried, praying him to take such farther measures as to him seemed proper, to strengthen the connection between the two countries. I now come to the commercial proposition which was brought forward in 1785. The best, perhaps, that can be said of it is, that it went as far as circumstances would then permit, to draw the two countries into a closer connection, yet if I am not mistaken, it will be found that the chancellor of the exchequer of that day, in Ireland, in a debate upon the Irish propositions, held this language:—"If this infatuated country gives up the present offer, she may look for it again in vain—things cannot remain as they are—commercial jealousy is roused—it will increase with two independent legislatures, and without an united interest in commerce, in a commercial empire, political union will receive many shocks, and separation of interest must threaten separation of connection, which every honest Irishman must shudder to look at as a possible event."

What is the evil to which he alludes? Commercial jealousies between two countries acting upon the laws of two independent legislatures, and the danger of those legislatures acting in opposition to each other. How can this evil be remedied? By two means only; either by some compact entered into by the legislatures of the two countries, respecting the mode of forming their commercial regulations, or else by blending the two legislatures together; these are the only two. I defy the wit of man to point out a third. The experiment of a mutual compact has been tried without success; the result then is—you must remain in the state which that right honourable gentleman has described, or you must again recur to the proposal of a compact similar to that rejected in 1785, or you must resort to the best and most effectual remedy—a legislative union. If we were to ask the ministers of our allies, what measure they thought the most likely to augment the power of the British empire, and consequently increase that strength by which they were now protected—if we were to ask the agent of our enemies, what measure would be the most likely to render their designs abortive—the answer would be the same in both cases, viz: the firm consolidation of every part of the empire. There is another consideration well worth attention: Recollect what are the peculiar means by which we have been enabled to resist the unequalled and eccentric efforts of France, without any diminution, nay with an increase of our general prosperity—what, but the great commercial resources which we possess? A measure then, which must communicate to such a mighty limb of the empire as Ireland, all the commercial advantages which Great Britain possesses, which will open the markets of the one country to the other, which will give them both the common use of their capital, must, by diffusing a large portion of wealth into Ireland, considerably increase the resources, and consequently the strength of the whole empire. But it is not merely in this general view, that I think the question ought to be con-

sidered. We ought to look to it with a view peculiarly to the permanent interest and security of Ireland. When that country was threatened with the double danger of hostile attacks by enemies without, and of treason within, from what quarter did she derive the means of her deliverance?—from the naval force of Great Britain—from the voluntary exertions of her military of every description, not called for by law, and from her pecuniary resources, added to the loyalty and energy of the inhabitants of Ireland itself; of which it is impossible to speak with too much praise, and which shews how well they deserve to be called the brethren of Britons. When that danger threatened Ireland, the purse of Great Britain was as open for the wants of Ireland, as for the necessities of England. I do not, Sir, state these circumstances, as upbraiding Ireland for the benefits we have conferred; far from it; but I state them with pleasure, as shewing the friendship and good-will with which the country has acted towards her. It is to identify them with us—it is to make them part of the same community, by giving them a full share of those accumulated blessings which are diffused throughout Great Britain; it is, in a word, by giving them a full participation of the wealth, the power, and the glory of the British empire. Until the kingdoms are united, any attempt to make regulations here for the internal state of Ireland, must certainly be a violation of her independence. But feeling, as I do, for their interests and their welfare, I cannot be inattentive to the events that are passing before me. I must therefore repeat, that whoever considers that the enemy have shewn by their conduct, that they considered Ireland as the weakest and most vulnerable part of the empire; whoever reflects upon those dreadful and inexcusable cruelties, instigated by the enemies of both countries, and upon those lamentable severities by which the exertions for the defence of Ireland were unhappily, but unavoidably attended, must feel that, as it now stands composed in the hostile division of its sects, in the animosities existing between ancient settlers and original inhabitants, in the ignorance and want of civilization which mark that country more than almost any other country in Europe, in the unfortunate prevalence of Jacobin principles, arising from these causes, and augmenting their malignity, and which have produced that distressed state which we now deplore; every one, I say, who reflects upon all these circumstances, must agree with me in thinking, that there is no cure but in the formation of a general imperial legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment, removed from the danger and agitation, and uninfluenced by the prejudices, and uninflamed by the passions of that distracted country. Above all, in the great leading distinction between the people of Ireland, (I mean their religious distinctions) what is their situation? The protestant feels that the claims of the catholics threaten the existence of the protestant ascendancy; while, on the other hand, the great body of catholics feel the establishment of the national church, and their exclusion from the exercise of certain rights and privileges a grievance. Between the two, it becomes a matter of difficulty in the minds of many persons, whether it would be better to listen only to the fears of the former, or to grant the claims of the latter. No man can say, that in the present state of things, and

while Ireland remains a separate kingdom, full concessions could be made to the catholics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. In the second place, I think it certain that, even for whatever period it may be thought necessary, after the union, to withhold from the catholics the enjoyment of those advantages, many of the objections which at present arise out of their situation would be removed, if the protestant legislature were no longer separate and local, but general and imperial; and the catholics themselves would at once feel a mitigation of the most goading and irritating of their present causes of complaint. How far, in addition to this great and leading consideration, it may also be wise and practicable to accompany the measure by some mode of relieving the lower orders from the pressure of tithes, or to make, under proper regulations, and without breaking in on the security of the present protestant establishment, an effectual and adequate provision for the catholic clergy, it is not now necessary to discuss. It is sufficient to say, that these and all other subordinate points connected with the same subject, are more likely to be permanently and satisfactorily settled by an united legislature, than by any local arrangements. I have heard it asked, when I pressed the measure, what are the positive advantages that Ireland is to derive from it? To this very question I presume the considerations which I have already urged afford a sufficient answer. It will be found to bear some resemblance to a question which has been repeatedly put by some of the gentlemen opposite to me, during the last six years. What are the advantages which Great Britain has gained by the present war with France? To this, the brilliant successes of the British arms by sea and land, our unexampled naval victories over all our enemies, the solid acquisition of valuable territory, the general increase of our power, the progressive extension of our commerce, and a series of events more glorious than any that ever adorned the page of our history, afford at once an ample and a satisfactory answer. But there is another general answer which we have uniformly given, and which would alone be sufficient: it is, that we did not enter into this war for any purpose of ambition; our object was not to acquire, but to preserve; and in this sense, what we have gained by the war is, in one word, all that we should have lost without it: it is the preservation of our constitution, our independence, our honour, our existence as a nation. In the same manner I might answer the question with respect to Ireland; I might enumerate the general advantages which Ireland would derive from the effects of the arrangements to which I have already referred—the protection which she will secure to herself in the hour of danger. The most effectual means of increasing her commerce and improving her agriculture, the command of English capital, the infusion of English manners and English industry, necessarily tending to ameliorate her condition, to accelerate the progress of internal civilization, and to terminate those feuds and dissensions which now distract the country, and which she does not possess within herself, the power either to controul or to extinguish. She would see the avenue to honors, to distinctions, and exalted situations in the general seat of empire, opened to all those whose abilities and talents

enable them to indulge an honorable and laudable ambition. But, independent of all these advantages, I might also answer, that the question is not what Ireland ought to gain, but what she is to preserve. Those blessings, of which it has long been the aim of France, in conjunction with domestic traitors, to deprive her, and on their ruins to establish (with all its attendant miseries and horrors) a Jacobin republic, founded on French influence, and existing only in subserviency to France. Mr. Pitt proceeded to adduce particular reasonings of the Irish chancellor of the exchequer in 1785, founded upon imports and exports which that gentleman contended, made the propositions of that year so valuable to the Irish nation, that they could not hesitate about embracing the offer; the right honorable gentleman then passed on to the objections stated to the measure. The first, said he, is, that the parliament of Ireland is incompetent to entertain and discuss the question, without having previously obtained the consent of the people of Ireland, their constituents. No man who maintains the parliament of Ireland to be co-equal with our own, can deny its competency on this question, unless he means to go the length of denying, at the same moment, the whole of the authority of the parliament of Great Britain, to shake every principle of legislation, and to maintain, that all the acts passed, and every thing done by parliament, or sanctioned by its authority, however sacred, however beneficial, is neither more nor less than an act of usurpation. He must not only deny the validity of the union between Scotland and England, but he must deny the authority of every one of the proceedings of the limited legislature since the union; nay, Sir, he must go still further, and deny the authority under which we now sit and deliberate here as a house of parliament. This point, Sir, is of so much importance, that I think, I ought not to suffer the opportunity to pass, without illustrating more fully what I mean. If this principle of the incompetency of parliament to the decision of the measure be admitted, or if it be contended, that parliament has no legitimate authority to discuss and decide upon it, you will be driven to the necessity of recognizing a principle, the most dangerous that ever was adopted in any civilized state. I mean the principle, that parliament cannot adopt any measure new in its nature, and of great importance, without appealing to the constituent and delegating authority for direction. If we turn to Ireland itself, what do gentlemen think of the power of that parliament, which, without any fresh delegation from its protestant constituents, associates to itself all the catholic electors, and thus destroys a fundamental distinction on which it was formed? What must be said by those who have at any time been friends to any plan of parliamentary reform, and particularly such as have been most recently brought forward, either in Great Britain or Ireland? Whatever may have been thought of the propriety of the measure, I never heard any doubt of the competency of parliament to consider and discuss it. Yet I defy any man to maintain the principle of those plans, without contending that, as a member of parliament, he possesses a right to concur in disfranchising those who sent him to parliament, and to select others, by whom he was not elected, in their stead. I am sure that no sufficient distinc-

tion, in point of principle, can be successfully maintained for a single moment; nor could I deem it necessary to dwell on this point, in the manner I do, were I not convinced that it is connected in part with false and dangerous notions on the subject of government which have lately become too prevalent in the world. It may, in fact, be traced to that gross perversion of the principles of all political society, which rests on the supposition that there exists continually in every government a sovereignty *in abeyance* (as it were) on the part of the people, ready to be called forth on every occasion, or rather, on every pretence, when it may suit the purposes of the party or faction who are the advocates of this doctrine, to suppose an occasion for its exertion. It is in these false principles that are contained the seeds of all the misery, desolation and ruin, which, in the present day, have spread themselves over so large a proportion of the habitable globe. These principles, Sir, are at length, so well known and understood in their practical effects, that they can no longer hope for one enlightened or intelligent advocate. No society, whatever be its particular form, can long subsist, if this principle is once admitted. In every government there must reside somewhere a supreme, absolute, and unlimited authority. This is equally true of every form of government that ever has existed. In all governments that power may by possibility be abused, whether the abused, is such as to justify and call for the interference of the people collectively, or more properly speaking of any portion of it, must always be an extreme case, and a question of the greatest and most perilous responsibility, not in law only, but in conscience and in duty, to all those who either act upon it themselves, or persuade others to do so. But no provision for such a case ever has been or can be made before hand; it forms no chapter in any known code of laws, it can find no place in any system of human jurisprudence. But, above all, if such a principle can make no part of any established constitution, not even of those where the government is so framed, as to be most liable to the abuse of its powers, it will be preposterous indeed to suppose that it can be admitted in one where those powers are so distributed and balanced, as to furnish the best security against the probability of such an abuse. Shall that principle be sanctioned as a necessary part of the best government, which cannot be admitted to exist even as an established check upon the worst! Yet, Sir, I know not how it is, that, in proportion as we are less likely to have occasion for so desperate a remedy in proportion as a government is so framed as to provide within itself the best guard and control on the exercise of every branch of authority, to furnish the means of preventing or correcting every abuse of power, and to secure by its own natural operation, a due attention to the interest and feelings of every part of the community, in that very proportion persons have been found perverse enough to imagine, that such a constitution admits and recognizes, as a part of it, that which is inconsistent with the nature of any government, and above all, inapplicable to our own. I have said more, Sir, upon this subject than I should have thought necessary, if I had not felt that this false and dangerous mockery of *the sovereignty of the people* is in truth one of the

chief elements of Jacobinism, one of the favorite impostures to mislead the understanding, and to flatter and inflame the passions of the mass of mankind, who have not the opportunity of examining and exposing it, and that, as such, on every occasion, and in every shape in which it appears, it ought to be combated and resisted by every friend to civil order and to the peace and happiness of mankind.

Sir, the next, and not the least prevalent objection, is one which is contained in words which are an appeal to a natural and laudable, but what I must call an erroneous and mistaken, sense of national pride. It is an appeal to the generous and noble passions of a nation easily inflamed under any supposed attack upon its honor, I mean the attempt to represent the question of a union by compact between the parliaments of the two kingdoms, as a question involving the independence of Ireland. It has been said, that no compensation could be made to any country for the surrender of its national independence. Do they mean to maintain that in any humiliating, in any degrading sense of the word, that at any time when the government of any two countries unite in forming one more extensive empire, that the individuals who composed either of the former narrow societies are afterwards less members of an independent country, or to any valuable and useful purpose less possessed of political freedom or civil happiness than they were before? It must be obvious to every gentleman who will look at the subject, in tracing the histories of all the countries, the most proud of their present existing independence of all the nations in Europe, there is not one that could exist in the state in which it now stands, if that principle had been acted upon by our forefathers; and Europe must have remained to this hour in a state of ignorance and barbarism, from the perpetual warfare of independent and petty states. Will any man in general assert, that in all the different unions which have formed the principal states of Europe, their inhabitants have become less free, that they have had less of which to be proud, less scope for their own exertions, than they had in their former situation? If this doctrine is to be generally maintained, what becomes of the situation at this hour of any one county of England, or of any one county of Ireland, now united under the independent parliament of that kingdom? If it be pushed to its full extent, it is obviously incompatible with all civil society. As the former principles of the sovereignty of the people strikes at the foundation of all governments, so this is equally hostile to all political confederacy, and mankind must be driven back to what is called the state of nature. But while I combat this general and abstract principle, which would operate as an objection to every union between separate states, on the ground of the sacrifice of independence, do I mean to contend that there is, in no case, just ground for such a sentiment? Far from it, it may become, on many occasions, the first duty of a free and generous people. If there exists a country which contains within itself the means of military protection, the naval force necessary for its defence, which furnishes objects of industry sufficient for the subsistence of its inhabitants, and pecuniary resources adequate to maintaining with dignity the rank which it has attained among the nations of the world; if, above all, it enjoys the blessings of internal

content and tranquillity, and possesses a distinct constitution of its own, the defects of which, if any, it is within itself capable of correcting, I can, indeed, well understand that such a country must be jealous of any measure, which, even by its own consent, under the authority of its own lawful government, is to associate it as a part of a larger and more extensive empire. But, Sir, if, on the other hand, it should happen that there be a country, which, against the greatest of all dangers that threatens its peace and security, has not adequate means of protecting itself without the aid of another nation; if that other be a neighboring and kindred nation, speaking the same language, whose laws, whose customs and habits are the same in principle, but carried to a greater degree of perfection, with a more extensive commerce, and more abundant means of acquiring and diffusing national wealth; the stability of whose government—the excellence of whose constitution, is more than ever the admiration and envy of Europe, and of which the very country of which we are speaking can only boast an inadequate and imperfect resemblance; under such circumstances, I would ask, what conduct would be prescribed by every rational principle of dignity, of honor, or of interest? I would ask, whether this is not a faithful description of the circumstances which ought to dispose Ireland to a union? Whether Great Britain is not precisely the nation with which, on these principles, a country situated as Ireland is, would desire to unite? Does a union, under such circumstances, by free consent, and on just and equal terms, deserve to be branded as a proposal for subjecting Ireland to a foreign yoke? Is it not rather the free and voluntary association of two great countries, which join, for their common benefit, in one empire, where each will retain its proportional weight and importance, under the security of equal laws, reciprocal affection, and inseparable interests, and which want nothing but that indissoluble connection to render both invincible?

*Non ego nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo
Nec nova regna peto; paribus se legibus ambe
Invictæ gentes eterna in fœdera mittant.*

Mr. Pitt then canvassed the objection of the removal of the seat of government and the decrease of population, which he refuted by the example of Scotland, and concluded perhaps the finest speech he ever made, whether it be considered for extent of knowledge, strength of argument, or brilliancy of expression, by moving his string of resolutions—which proposed an union under the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—that the crown shall continue under the same limitations—that one parliament to consist of a number to be fixed on the part of Ireland, should represent the united kingdom—that the religious establishment should be the same—that England and Ireland should trade upon an equal footing—the payment of the sinking fund shall be separately defrayed—that all expences shall be jointly defrayed according to propositions established previous to the union, and that the laws and jurisdiction shall remain, these formed the basis of the settlement in which the house expressed themselves ready to concur, and which they trusted, after full and mature consideration would be concluded. The lead-

ing opponents in the British parliament were, in their respective houses, Mr. Sheridan and Lord Moira; and the ground on which they principally rested was the declared disapprobation of the Irish house of commons. Both houses of British parliament concurred in approving Mr. Pitt's proposition of union, and, in an address to the king, requesting his majesty to communicate to Ireland their views and resolutions. The king accordingly instructed the viceroy to lay the proffers and proceedings of the British before the Irish parliament.

The farther parliamentary proceedings of the session, chiefly regarded external defence and internal tranquillity. The supplementary militia were continued on the same footing as in the former years, and the suspension of the habeas corpus continued. Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for the abolition of the slave trade, but his efforts were again unavailing: parliament was prorogued on the 12th of July. The campaign of 1799, in Germany commenced fortunately, Jourdain being forced to retreat across the Rhine. In Italy, every thing yielded to the Russian General Suwarrow. The armies of Scherer, Macdonald and Joubert were successively routed and nothing remained to the French, but the small territory of Genoa. The king of Naples was replaced upon his throne by Admiral Nelson, and Captain Trowbridge being sent towards Rome with a small force, the Roman territory was evacuated by the republicans. In Switzerland, affairs were not so successful. The Russians under Korsakow were severely beaten, and the approach of the victorious Suwarrow alone enabled him to face the enemy. The French harbours were meanwhile in a state of blockade—the disastrous expedition to Holland sailed in August of this year—the surrender of the Dutch fleet, and the subsequent evacuation of North Holland by the British, are too recent a date to need further recital. The situation of affairs on the continent, caused a short meeting of parliament, at so early a season as the month of September. The object of this extraordinary convocation was to pass a law for extending the voluntary service of the militia, while the regular forces were employed on the expedition, and also to vote some pecuniary supplies on account of the unforeseen expences. The projected bill respecting the militia, permitted three-fifths of that body to enlist into such corps of regulars as his majesty should appoint; each volunteer to receive ten guineas to serve in Europe only, and to continue attached to the corps in which he first entered. The bill, being accompanied with numerous regulations concerning the mode of its execution, underwent considerable opposition, as tending to diminish by donative the constitutional and patriotic force of the militia, and to increase the standing army dependent on the crown. The object of Mr Pitt had uniformly been (his opponents said) to extend the influence and the authority of the monarchical branch of the constitution beyond its due and salutary bounds, the objections, though strongly urged, were, by a great majority of the house, deemed futile; and the bill was passed into a law. The supplies granted at present amounted to between six and seven millions, including two millions five hundred thousand to be raised by exchequer bills. Bills were also passed for granting relief to West-India merchants, and for

supporting commercial credit. These were the chief acts of this session, which lasted only from the 24th of September, till the 12th of October.

Towards the close of this year Bonaparte escaped from Egypt to France and a change was effected in the government by which he became first consul. His first act was to offer peace to England, the offer was rejected upon the ground of the instability of the French government. The consul renewed his application by means of a letter from Talleyrand, to Lord Grenville.—The reply of the British government was the same.

Parliament met on the 2d of February, 1800. The papers relative to the negociation were submitted to the house. Upon this occasion, and in reply to Mr. Erskine, Mr. Pitt made one of his most able speeches. He enlarged on the origin of the war, and recapitulated all the acts of French aggression upon the different powers in the world in a strain of the most splendid eloquence, and drew a picture of the state of France under all its successive forms of government, down to the present revolution. Having taken a view of what it was, said Mr. Pitt, let us now examine what it is —In the first place we see, as has been truly stated, a change in the description and form of the sovereign authority. The various institutions, republican in appearance, have given way to the absolute power of one man, and differing from other monarchs only in this, that he wields a sword instead of a sceptre. What then is the confidence we are to derive either from the frame of the government, or from the character and past conduct of the person who is now the absolute ruler of France? Are we talking of a stranger of whom we have heard nothing? No, Sir; we have heard of him; we, and Europe, and the world, have heard both of him and of the satellites by whom he is surrounded. Would it have been possible for ministers to discharge their duty, in offering their advice to their sovereign, without taking into their account the reliance to be placed on the disposition and the principles of the person, on whose disposition and principles the security to be obtained by treaty must, in the present circumstances, principally depend? What opinion, then, are we led to form of the pretensions of the Consul to those particular qualities for which, in the official note, his personal character is represented to us, as the surest pledge of peace? We are told this is his second attempt at general pacification. Let us see, for a moment, how this attempt has been conducted. We thought fit to reject altogether the proposal of treating, under the present circumstances; but, at the same time, we expressly stated, that, whenever the moment for treaty should arrive, we would in no case treat, but in conjunction with our allies. What was the proposal contained in his last note?—To treat for a separate peace between Great Britain and France. Such was the second attempt to effect general pacification; a proposal for a separate treaty with Great Britain. What had been the first?—The conclusion of a separate treaty with Austria. This very treaty of Campo Formio was ostentatiously professed to be concluded with the emperor, for the purpose of enabling Bonaparte to take the command of the army of England, and to dictate a separate peace with this country on the banks of the

Thames. He sent his two confidential friends, Berthier and Monge, charged to communicate to the directory this treaty of Campo Formio, they used on this occasion, the memorable words "*The Kingdom of Great Britain and the French republic cannot exist together.*" So much for his disposition towards general pacification; let us look next at the part he has taken in the different stages of the French revolution, and let us then judge whether we are to look to him, as the security against revolutionary principles. When the constitution of the third year was established under Barras, that constitution was imposed by the arms of Bonaparte, then commanding the army of the Triumvirate in Paris. To that constitution he then swore fidelity. How often he has repeated a similar oath I know not; but twice, at least, we know that he has not only repeated it himself, but tendered it to others, under circumstances too striking not to be stated. The house cannot have forgotten the resolution of the 4th of September, which produced the dismissal of Lord Malmesbury from Lisle. How was that resolution procured? It was procured chiefly by the promise of Bonaparte, (in the name of his army) decidedly to support the directory in those measures which led to the infringement and violation of every thing that the authors of the constitution of 1795, or its adherents, could consider as fundamental. Immediately before this event, in the midst of the desolation and bloodshed of Italy, he had received the sacred present of new banners from the directory; he delivered them to his army with this exhortation:—"Let us swear, fellow soldiers, by the manes of the patriots who have died by our side, eternal hatred to the enemies of the constitution of the third year;" that very constitution which he soon after enabled the directory to violate, and which, at the head of his grenadiers, he has now finally destroyed. That oath was again renewed, in the midst of that very scene to which I have last referred; the oath of fidelity to the constitution of the third year was administered to all the members of the assembly then sitting, (under the terror of the bayonet) as the solemn preparation for the business of the day; and the morning was ushered in with swearing attachment to the constitution, that the evening night close with its destruction. If we carry our views out of France, and look at the dreadful catalogue of all the breaches of treaty, all the acts of perfidy at which I have only glanced, and which are precisely commensurate with the number of treaties which the republic have made (for I have sought in vain for any one which it has made, and which it has not broken); if we select those which have been accompanied by the most atrocious cruelty, and marked the most strongly with the characteristic features of the revolution, the name of Bonaparte will be found allied to more of them than that of any other that can be handed down in the history of the crimes and miseries of the last ten years. His name will be recorded with the horrors committed in Italy, in the memorable campaign of 1796 and 1797, in the Milanese, in Genoa, in Madeira, in Tuscany, in Rome, and in Venice. His entrance into Lombardy was announced by a solemn proclamation, issued on the 27th of April, 1796, which terminated with these words; "Nations of Italy; the French army is come to break your chains, the French are the friends of the people in

every country, your religion, your property, your customs, shall be respected ; this was followed by a second, in nearly the same words : to fulfil the solemn pledge respecting property, this very proclamation imposed on the Milanese a provisional contribution to the amount of twenty millions of livres ; and successive exactions were afterwards levied on that single state to the amount, in the whole, of near six millions sterling. The regard to religion and to the customs of the country, was manifested with the same scrupulous fidelity.—The churches were given up to indiscriminate plunder. Every religious and charitable fund, every public treasure was confiscated. The country was made the scene of every species of disorder and rapine. The priests, the established form of worship, all the objects of religious reverence, were openly insulted by the French troops ; at Pavia, particularly, the people flew to arms, surrounded the French garrison, and took them prisoners, but carefully abstained from offering any violence, to a single soldier. In revenge for this conduct, Bonaparte, then on his march to Mincio, suddenly returned, collected his troops, and carried the extremity of military execution over the country. He burnt the town of Benasco, and massacred eight hundred of its inhabitants ; he marched into Pavia, took it by storm, and delivered it over to general plunder, and published, at the same moment, a proclamation, of the 26th of May, ordering his troops to shoot all those who had not laid down their arms, and taken an oath of obedience, to burn every village where the *tocsin* should be sounded, and to put its inhabitants to death. The transactions with Modena were on a smaller scale, but in the same character Bonaparte began by signing a treaty, by which the Duke of Modena was to pay twelve millions of livres, and neutrality was promised him in return ; this was soon followed by the personal arrest of the Duke, and by a fresh extortion. Nearly at the same period, in violation of the rights of neutrality, and of the treaty which had been concluded between the French republic and the grand Duke of Tuscany, in the preceding year, and in breach of a positive promise given only a few days before, the French army forcibly took possession of Leghorn, for the purpose of seizing the British property which was deposited there, and confiscating it as prize ; and shortly after, when Bonaparte agreed to evacuate Leghorn in return for the evacuation of the island of Elba, which was in possession of the British troops ; he insisted upon a separate article, by which it was stipulated, that the grand Duke should pay the expence which the French had incurred by this invasion of his territory.

In the proceedings towards Genoa, we shall find not only a continuation of the same system of extortion and plunder, but a striking instance of the revolutionary means employed for the destruction of independent governments. A French minister was at that time resident at Genoa, which was acknowledged by France to be in a state of neutrality and friendship ; in breach of this neutrality, Bonaparte began, in the year 1796, with the demand of a loan ; he afterwards, from the month of September, required and enforced the payment of a monthly subsidy, these exactions were accompanied by repeated assurances of friendship ; they were followed, in May 1797, by a con-

spiracy against the government, fomented by the emissaries of the French embassy, and conducted by the partizans of France; encouraged, and afterwards protected by the French minister. The conspirators failed in their first attempt; overpowered by the courage and voluntary exertions of the inhabitants, their force was dispersed, and many of the number were arrested. Bonaparte instantly considered the defect of the conspirators as an act of aggression against the French republic; he dispatched an *aid-de-camp*, with an order to the senate of this independent state; first, to release all the French who were detained; secondly, to punish those who had arrested them; thirdly, to declare that they had no share in the insurrection; and fourthly, to disarm the people. Several French prisoners were immediately released, and a proclamation was preparing to disarm the inhabitants, when, by a second note, Bonaparte required the arrest of the three inquisitors of state, and immediate alterations in the constitution; he accompanied this with an order to the French minister to quit Genoa, if his commands were not immediately carried into execution; at the same moment his troops entered the territory of the republic, and shortly after the councils, intimidated and overpowered, abdicated their functions. Three deputies were then sent to Bonaparte to receive from him a new constitution; on the 6th of June, after the conferences at Montebello, he signed a convention, or rather issued a decree, by which he fixed the new form of their government; he himself named, provisionally, all the members who were to compose it, and he required the payment of seven millions of livres, as the price of the subversion of their constitution and their independence. These transactions require but one short comment; it is to be found in the official account given of them at Paris, which is in these memorable words: "General Bonaparte has pursued the only line of conduct which could be allowed in the representative of a nation, which has supported the war only to procure the solemn acknowledgment of the right of nations, to change the form of their government. He contributed nothing towards the revolution of Genoa, but he seized the first moment to acknowledge the new government, as soon as he saw that it was the result of the wishes of the people." It is unnecessary to dwell on the wanton attacks against Rome, under the direction of Bonaparte himself, in the years 1796 and 1797, which terminated first, by the treaty of Tolentino, concluded by Bonaparte, in which, by enormous sacrifices, the Pope was allowed to purchase the acknowledgement of his authority, as a sovereign prince; and secondly, by the violation of that very treaty and the subversion of the Papal authority by Joseph Bonaparte, accompanied by outrages and insults towards the venerable pontiff, which even to a protestant, seemed hardly short of the guilt of sacrilege.

But of all the disgusting and tragical scenes which took place in Italy, in the course of the period I am describing, those which passed at Venice are perhaps the most striking, and the most characteristic; In May, 1796, the French army, under Bonaparte, in the full tide of its success against the Austrians, first approached the territories of this republic, which, from the commencement of the war, had observed a rigid neutrality. Their entrance on these territories was as usual, accompanied by a solemn proclamation in the name of their

general—"Bonaparte to the republic of Venice." "*It is to deliver the finest country in Europe from the iron yoke of the proud house of Austria, that the French army has braved obstacles the most difficult to surmount. Religion, government, customs, and property, shall be respected.*" This proclamation was followed by exactions similar to those which were practised against Genoa, by the renewal of similar professions of friendship, and the use of similar means to excite insurrection. At length, in the spring of 1797, occasion was taken from disturbances thus excited, to forge, in the name of the Venetian government, a proclamation, hostile to France; and this proceeding was made the ground for military execution against the country, and for effecting by force the subversion of its ancient government and the establishment of the democratic forms of the French revolution. This revolution was sealed by a treaty, signed in May, 1797, between Bonaparte and commissioners appointed on the part of the new and revolutionary government of Venice. By the second and third secret articles of this treaty, Venice agreed to give as a ransom, to secure itself against all farther exactions or demands, the sum of three millions of livres in money, the value of three millions more in articles of naval supply, and three ships of the line; and it received in return the assurances of the friendship and support of the French republic. Immediately after the signature of this treaty, the arsenal, the library, and the palace of St. Marc, were ransacked and plundered, and heavy additional contributions were imposed upon its inhabitants: and, in not more than four months afterwards, this very republic of Venice, united by alliance to France, the creature of Bonaparte himself, from whom it had received the present of French liberty, was by the same Bonaparte transferred under the treaty of Campo Formio, to "that iron yoke of the proud house of Austria," to deliver it from which he had represented in his first proclamation, to be the great object of all his operations. From hence we will follow Bonaparte and his army, to Egypt. The attack was made in the name of the French king, whom they had murdered; they pretended to have the approbation of the Grand Seignor, whose territories they were violating; their project was carried on under the profession of a zeal for Mahometanism; it was carried on by proclaiming that France had been reconciled to the mussulman faith, had abjured that of christianity, or as he, in his impious language, termed it, the sect of the Messiah.—The only plea which they have since held out to colour this atrocious invasion of a neutral and friendly territory is, that it was the road to attack the English power in India. This attack against Egypt was accompanied by an attack upon the British possessions in India, made on true revolutionary principles. To India, the lovers of peace had sent the messengers of Jacobinism for the purpose of inculcating war in those distant regions, on Jacobin principles, and of forming Jacobin clubs, which they actually succeeded in establishing, and which, in most respects, resembled the European model, but which were distinguished by this peculiarity, that they were required to swear, in one breath, hatred to tyranny, the love of liberty, and the destruction of all kings and sovereigns, except the good and faithful ally of the French republic, CITIZEN TIPPOO.

This memorable expedition into Egypt, which I mention, not merely because it forms a principal article in the catalogue of those acts of violence and perfidy in which Bonaparte has been engaged; not merely because it was an enterprize peculiarly his own, of which he was himself the planner, the executor and the betrayer; but chiefly because when from thence he retires to a different scene, to take possession of a new throne, from which he is to speak upon an equality with kings and governors of Europe. He leaves behind him, at the moment of his departure, a specimen which cannot be mistaken, of his principles of negociation, I mean the intercepted correspondence. He expressly enjoins his successor, strongly and steadily to insist in all his intercourse with the Turks, that he came to Egypt with no hostile design, and that he never meant to keep possession of the country; while, on the opposite page of the same instructions, he states in the most unequivocal manner, his regret at the discomfiture of his favorite project of colonizing Egypt, and of maintaining it as a territorial acquisition. It is unnecessary to say more with respect to the credit due to his professions, or the reliance to be placed on his general character.

But it will, perhaps, be argued, that he has now an interest in making and observing peace. That it is his interest to negociate, I do not indeed deny; it is his interest above all to engage this country in separate negociation, in order to loosen and dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the continent, and then either to break off his separate treaty, or if he should have concluded it, to apply the lesson which is taught in his school of policy in Egypt; and to revive, at his pleasure, those claims of indemnification which may have been reserved to some happier period. Under all the circumstances of his personal character, and his newly acquired power, what other security has he for retaining that power but the sword? His hold upon France is the sword, and he has no other. He is a stranger, a foreigner and an usurper; he unites in his own person every thing that a pure republican must detest; every thing that an enraged Jacobin has abjured; every thing that a sincere and faithful royalist must feel as an insult. If he is opposed at any time in his career, what is his appeal? He appeals "to his fortune;" in other words, to his army and his sword. Placing, then, his whole reliance upon military support, can he afford to let his military renown pass away, to let his laurels wither, to let the memory of his trophies sink in obscurity! Do we believe that, after the conclusion of peace, he would not still sigh over the lost trophies of Egypt, wrested from him by the celebrated victory of Aboukir, and the brilliant exertions of that heroic band of British seamen, whose influence and example rendered the Turkish troops invincible at Acre? Can he forget, that the effect of these exploits enabled Austria and Russia in one campaign to efface, by their success, the most dazzling triumphs of his victories and desolating ambition? Can we believe, with these impressions on his mind, that, if after a year, eighteen months, or two years of peace had elapsed, he should be tempted, by the appearance of fresh insurrection in Ireland, if we were at such a moment without a fleet to watch the ports of France, without a disposable army, he had suddenly the means of transporting

thither a body of twenty or thirty thousand French troops? Can we believe, that at such a moment his ambition and vindictive spirit would be restrained by the obligation of a treaty? Or, if in some new crisis of difficulty and danger to the Ottoman empire, with no British navy in the Mediterranean, no confederacy formed, an opportunity should present itself for resuming the abandoned expedition to Egypt, for renewing the avowed and favorite project of conquering and colonizing that rich and fertile country, and of opening the way to wound some of the vital interests of England, and to plunder the treasures of the East, in order to fill the bankrupt coffers of France? Would it be the interest of Bonaparte, under such circumstances, or his principles, his moderation, his love of peace, his aversion to conquest, and his regard for the independence of other nations—would it be all, or any of these that would secure us against an attempt which would leave us only the option of submitting without a struggle to certain loss or disgrace, or of renewing the contest which he had prematurely terminated, without allies, without preparation, with diminished means, and with increased difficulty and hazard?

Mr. Pitt then entered at great length into the nature of the present French constitution. We have been asked in the course of this debate—do you think you can impose monarchy upon France, against the will of the nation? I never thought it, I never hoped it, I never wished it; but as a sincere lover of peace, I will not sacrifice it by grasping at the shadow, when the reality is not substantially within my reach—*Cur igitur pacem nolo? Quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest.* An address highly approving the rejection of the offers was voted by a great majority.

Perseverance in the war being still determined, subsidies were voted to the emperor, the elector of Bavaria, and other powers of the empire. The income tax was continued; and, including a vote of credit, there was a loan of twenty-one millions. A motion for an enquiry into the expedition to Holland was made, but it was rejected by a great majority. The union between Great Britain and Ireland underwent an ample discussion in both houses of the Irish parliament, and was adopted by a great majority in both houses. The time of its commencement was finally determined to be fixed on the first of Jan. 1801, being the first day of the nineteenth century. The suspension of the habeas corpus was, after a considerable discussion, continued. Provisions being during this session uncommonly high, attracted the attention of parliament. Mr. Pitt, on the soundest principles of political economy, sanctioned by the authority of the ablest writers, had abstained from all interference in the corn-market; the legislature confined its attention to the contrivance of substitutes, and diminution of consumption. Mr. Pitt, from a detailed view of the price of provisions during the whole contest, argued, that if the scarcity had arisen from the war, the increase would have been progressive; whereas the prices in 1796, 1797 and 1798 had been as low as in peace, and the rise had not taken place till 1799; and was obviously imputable to the wet, late and unproductive harvest. In consequence of Hadfield's attempting the king's life, and repeated instances of insanity

being directed against a personage whose safety was so dear and important to the state, two additional clauses were added to the insanity bill, providing more especially for the personal safety of the sovereign. Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of July.

The campaign of this year was terminated by the peace between France and Austria, as the consequence of Bonaparte's victories. The British reduced Malta—the convention of El Arish, by which the French General Kieber agreed to evacuate Egypt, was concluded by Sir Sydney Smith—this was not however ratified by the British government; Curacoa in the West-Indies was captured. In Britain the year 1800 was chiefly distinguished by the exorbitant price of the necessaries of life. This dreadful evil, during the summer, was borne with meritorious patience; when harvest commenced, the prices fell with considerable rapidity upwards of one fourth, but in September bread again rose, and in the manufacturing towns riots began, especially at Birmingham; thence they reached London, but were quelled without the actual use of arms. The proposal of treating for peace was now made from the chief Consul, through Mr. Otto. The French proposal for a naval armistice being rejected by the English government, and their *contre-projet*, prohibiting all means of defence from being conveyed into the island of Malta, or any of the ports of Egypt, and providing for the discontinuance of the blockade at Brest, Toulon and other French ports, and the removal of the ships of war in those ports to any other station, being dissented to by the French, the negociation was broken off. A *separate* peace, though the Chief Consul would have acceded to the English *contre-projet*, as the preliminary, was soon after as heretofore rejected. The last British parliament met on the 10th of Nov. 1800, in order to dispatch the most urgent business previous to the meeting of the united legislature. The subjects which chiefly occupied their attention were, the overtures for a peace with the French republic, the high price of provisions, and the immediate supplies for the national service. The opponents of ministry endeavored, as in the former year, to charge the scarcity to the account of the war, but ministers still continued to resist this allegation. In the discussion upon the negociation, a great majority in parliament approved highly of the resolution of government not to conclude a separate peace, the supplies required were voted, the British parliament was prorogued towards the end of December, and the united parliament of Great Britain and Ireland met for the first time on the 2d of January, 1801.

It was about this time that the northern confederacy began to shew itself. Denmark and Sweden had been often engaged in contraband traffic with France, and been detected by the vigilance of the British cruisers. The emperor of Russia, irritated by the jealousy of Austria had now taken an inveterate hatred to that power and Great Britain, and had joined with the Dane and the Swede in an armed neutrality similar to that of the year 1780. There had been much discussion between the British and the northern courts, and his Majesty's speech noticed the convention between the northern powers, and his own efforts to repel their aggression. The address being moved, Mr. Grey en-

tered at large into the subject, and proposed an amendment. On this occasion Mr Pitt's reply was severely sarcastic. I must confess, Sir, said he, that the manner in which the hon. gentleman has treated every part of this subject, has really filled me with astonishment, both when I consider the general plan of his speech, and the particular statements into which he went in support of his argument. In following the order which he took, I must begin with his doubts and end with his certainties; and I cannot avoid observing, that the hon. gentleman was singularly unfortunate upon this subject, for he entertained doubts where there was not the slightest ground for hesitation, and he makes up his mind to absolute certainty upon points in which both argument and fact are decidedly against him. Upon the justice of our claim, the hon. gentleman states himself to be wholly in doubt. There is, Sir, in general, a degree of modesty in doubting that conciliates very much; and a man is seldom inclined to bear hard upon an antagonist whose attack does not exceed the limits of a doubt. But, Sir, when a gentleman doubts that which has been indisputably established for more than a century—when he doubts that which has been an acknowledged principle of law in all the tribunals of the kingdom, which are alone competent to decide upon the subject, and which parliament has constantly known them to act upon—when he doubts principles which the ablest and the wisest statesmen have uniformly adopted—I say, Sir, the doubt that calls in question principles so established, without offering the slightest ground for so doing, shews a great deal of pert presumption which as often as modesty leads to scepticism. There are two ways in which this subject is to be considered: the first is what has been the general law of nations upon this subject, independent of any particular treaties which may have been made. The next is, how far any precise treaties affect it. With respect to the law of nations, we know that the principle upon which we are now acting has been universally admitted, except in cases where it has been restrained or modified by particular treaties between different states. And here I must observe, that the honorable gentleman has fallen into the same error which constitutes the great fallacy in the reasoning of the advocates for the northern powers: namely, that every exception from the general law by a particular treaty, proves the law to be as it is stated in that treaty; whereas the very circumstances of making an exception by treaty, proves what the general law of nations would be if no such treaty were made to modify or alter it. But what will the honorable gentleman say, if I give to him this short answer, that with every one of the three northern powers with whom we are at present in dispute, independent of that law of nations, of our uniform practices, and of the opinions of our courts, we have the strictest letter of engagements by which they are bound to us?—What will he say, if I shew that their present conduct to us is as much a violation of positive treaties with us, as it is of the law of nations. Mr. Pitt here quoted the facts to which he alluded. But then the honorable gentleman says, “we do not know the precise terms of the present treaty, and therefore we ought to take no steps until we are completely apprized of its contents.” How far would the honorable gentleman push his argument? Will he say, that we

ought to wait quietly for the treaty, that we ought to take no step until we had read it paragraph by paragraph? Are we to wait till we see the article itself, until we see the seal to the contract of our destruction, before we take means to insure our defence?

Sir, I will not trouble the house any longer upon the question of right; I come now to the expediency. The question is, whether we are to permit the navy of our enemies to be supplied and recruited—whether we are to suffer blockaded forts to be furnished with warlike stores and provisions—whether we are to suffer neutral nations, by hoisting a flag upon a sloop, or a fishing boat, to convey the treasures of South America to the harbours of Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or Toulon?—I would ask, Sir, has there been any period since we have been a naval country, in which we have not acted upon this principle? The honorable gentleman talks of the destruction of the naval power of France; but does he really believe that her marine would have been decreased to the degree that it now is, if, during the whole of the war, this very principle had not been acted upon? If the fraudulent system of neutrals had not been prevented, her navy would have been in a very different situation from that in which it now is. Does he not know that the naval preponderance which we have by these means acquired, has given security to this country, and has more than once afforded chances for the salvation of Europe?

Mr. Pitt then went on to refute the charges against ministers in Mr. Grey's speech, and a majority of 183 approved the conduct of administration.—In the month of February, Mr. Pitt unexpectedly resigned, and on the 16th he thus assigned his reasons. When I took the liberty of stating, that the insinuations thrown out by an honorable gentleman this night were unfounded, my idea was, alluding to that charge, that I had not suggested any rumours injurious to my sovereign, to whom I am, perhaps, more than any other man in his dominions, bound by gratitude, duty and affection. In saying this, however, I did not mean to say that the ground assigned by rumour was not the ground of my resignation, much less did I decline any explanation. But it is somewhat a new doctrine, that a man cannot, consistently with his duty, resign a high and responsible situation, without giving all the reasons which determined him on that line of conduct. Where this system of duty is established, I know not. I have never heard that it was a public crime to retire from office without explaining the reason. I therefore am not aware how it can be a public crime in me to relinquish, without assigning the cause, a station which it would be the ambition of my life, and the passion of my heart, to continue to fill, if I could do so with advantage to my country, and consistently with what I conceive to be my duty. As to the merits then of the question which led to my resignation, though I do not feel myself bound, I am willing to submit them to the house. I should rather leave it to posterity to judge of my conduct, still I have no objection to state the fact:—I, and some of my colleagues in office, did feel it an incumbent duty upon us to propose a measure on the part of government, which, under the circumstances of the union so happily effected between the two coun-

tries, we thought of great public importance, and necessary to complete the benefit likely to result from that measure : we felt this opinion so strongly, that when we met with circumstances which rendered it impossible for us to propose it as a measure of government, we felt it equally inconsistent with our duty and our honor any longer to remain a part of that government. What may be the opinion of others, I know not, but I beg to have it understood to be a measure which, if I had remained in government, I must have proposed. What my conduct will be in a different situation must be regulated by a mature and impartial review of all the circumstances of the case. I shall be governed (as it has always been the wish of my life to be) only by such considerations as I think best tend to insure the tranquillity, the strength, and the happiness of the empire."

Having thus traced Mr. Pitt through his long career of ministerial duties, it remains for us to view him in the less active and responsible condition of a member of the house of commons. In the new administration Mr. Addington was the inheritor of Mr. Pitt's honors, and it was understood that he was in some sort recommended by Mr. Pitt, and that he expected Mr. P.'s support. Previous to that gentleman's quitting the treasury, he produced the estimate of supply and the ways and means, the former including a loan of 25,400,000*l.* The taxes were laid on tea and sugar, upon paper a duty of ten per cent. additional, and various other articles.—Inquiries were proposed into the expedition to Ferrol and Cadiz, and also concerning the convention of El-Arish, which, if observed by England, it was said might have prevented the necessity of sending troops to Egypt; but all these motions were negatived by the usual very great majorities.—In the course of the session, new regulations were made for encouraging the importation of wheat, American flour and rice, to lessen the growing pressure of scarcity; and on the 1st of July the house rose.

In the sessions which immediately succeeded the change of ministers, we find Mr. Pitt the friend and supporter of Mr. Addington.—Mr. Pitt's speeches were short upon every occasion, and were principally in defence of the measures of his administration.

On the opening of the session, on the 29th of October, 1801, the speech from the throne announced the favourable conclusion of the negotiations begun in the last session of parliament. It expressed much satisfaction, that the differences with the northern powers had been adjusted, and that the preliminaries of peace had been ratified between us and the French republic. As the provision for defraying the expenses which must unavoidably be continued for some time, and maintaining an adequate peace establishment, could not be made without large additional supplies, all possible attention should be paid to such economical arrangements as might be consistent with the great object of security to his majesty's dominions; and concluded with eulogiums on the naval and military operations of the last campaign, and the glorious issue of our expedition to Egypt. Mr. Pitt. said but a few words, he was however on the side of administration. It was on this occasion that the Grenville party separated from their late friends, by openly declaring their disapprobation of the peace.

The discussion however was postponed till a future day. On the 3d of November the debate came on. In the early part of it Mr. Pitt rose. He said, that upon a subject in itself of such importance, and one upon which it was unfortunately his lot to differ from some with whom it had been his happiness to have been connected by the strictest ties of friendship, for the greater part of his life, he was anxious to deliver his sentiments, before the attention of the house and his powers, should be exhausted by fatigue.

For some time past, all rational, all thinking men, had concurred in an opinion, that whatever their wishes might have been, whatever hopes might at different periods of the war have been entertained, yet, that after the events which had taken place on the continent, the question of peace or war between Great Britain and France became a question of terms only. When he said that the question of peace or war between this country and France was a question of terms only, he wished to be understood, as being more anxious about the general complexion of the peace, as affecting the character of this country, for good faith, honor and generosity, than he was about any particular acquisition that might be made, or any specific object that might be attained. For his own part, he had no hesitation to declare, that he would rather close with an enemy upon terms short even of the fair pretensions of the country, provided they were not inconsistent with honor and security, than continue the contest for any particular possession. He did not pretend to state to the house, that this peace fully answered all his wishes; but the government had undoubtedly endeavoured to obtain the best terms they could for the country; and he was ready to contend, that the difference between the terms we had obtained and those of retaining all we had given up, would not have justified ministers, in protracting the war. The principle upon which administration acted, and in which he perfectly concurred with them, was, that in selecting those acquisitions which we wished to retain, it was our interest to endeavour to retain such as from their situation, or from other causes, were the best calculated for confirming and securing our ancient territories. The object which must naturally first present itself to every minister, must be to give additional vigor to our maritime strength, and security to our colonial possessions. It must be admitted by every man acquainted with the real interest of this country, that, compared with the East and West Indies, the Mediterranean is but a secondary consideration. In one point of view, he admitted that possessions in the Mediterranean were of importance to enable us to co-operate with any continental powers with whom we might happen to be in alliance. When there was not a confederacy in our favor, this country, with all its naval superiority, could not make any very serious efforts on the continent; yet, in the case of such a confederacy, much undoubtedly would be done by the co-operation of the British navy in the Mediterranean. Upon this principle, he hoped the house would concur with him in thinking, that we ought not to insist upon retaining the island of Malta. The other possession which we had acquired, and upon the propriety of retaining which much had been said, was Minorca. With respect to this island, he perfectly concurred in the opinion of his noble friend,

(Lord Hawkesbury) that it would always belong to the power who possessed the greatest maritime strength. Upon these grounds, he, for one, would not have advised much to be given in another quarter, for the purpose of enabling us to retain Minorca, doubting, as he did, whether in time of peace it was worth the expense of a garrison. In turning his attention to the East Indies, he certainly saw cause for regret, because the opinion he had been taught to entertain of the value of the Cape of Good Hope, was much higher than that expressed by his noble friend. But, thinking thus highly as he did of the Cape, he considered it as far inferior indeed to Ceylon, which he looked upon to be, of all the places upon the face of the globe, the one which will add most to the security of our East Indian possessions. He now came to the consideration of our situation in the West Indies; and he was decidedly of opinion, that of all the islands which the fortune of war had put into our hands in that quarter, Trinidad was the most valuable; he should prefer it even to Martinico—undoubtedly as a protection to our leeward islands it was the better of the two; but in point of intrinsic value, Trinidad was the more important.—He would now trouble the house shortly upon the subject of our allies. With respect to the Porte, we had done every thing that we were bound to do—nay, more—we had compelled the French to the evacuation of Egypt, and had stipulated for the integrity of her dominions. There was another object which we had obtained—he meant the establishment of an infant power, viz. the republic of the Seven Islands, which would perhaps have otherwise fallen under the dominion of France; this certainly was an acquisition of great importance for this country, not inferior perhaps to the possession of Malta itself. With regard to Naples, we were not bound to do any thing for her. She had even desired to be released from her engagements to us; but she was compelled to this by an over-ruling necessity; and the government of this country, in its conduct towards Naples, had only acted in conformity to its own interest, and that upon large and liberal grounds, in endeavouring to repair the fortunes of an ally who had given way only to force. With regard to Sardinia, the same observations were applicable; for we were not bound to interfere for her, unless it was to be maintained, that we were to take upon ourselves the task of settling the affairs of the continent. He was ready to grant that we ought to have claimed Piedmont for its sovereign; but could we have obtained it, unless we could have deposed the King of Etruria, gained the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, and driven the French from the mountains of Switzerland? Unless we could have done all this, it would have been in vain to restore the King of Sardinia to his capital, surrounded as he would have been by the French, and by their dependent and affiliated republics. As to Portugal, every body must lament her misfortunes. But if it was right in her to ask to be released from her engagements to us, and if it was right in us to consent to it, then clearly we were absolved from any obligation to her. It had been said, “You affect to guarantee the integrity of Portugal, but it is only after France and Spain have taken every thing they wished for.” But this again was not correct. The treaty of Badajoz

certainly did not give to France all she desired, because France, by a subsequent treaty, extorts another cession of still greater importance to her. What happens then? Portugal has given up this second portion of her territory by force, when you interfere and cancel the second treaty, and bring them back to the stipulations in the first. To you, then, Portugal owes this difference in the limits of her South American empire; and to her you have acted not only with good faith, but with dignified liberality. The only remaining ally was the Prince of Orange; from our ancient connections, from our gratitude for the services of the House of Orange at the period of the revolution, from his connection with our sovereign, we could not but take a lively interest in his fate, and we have shewn it by our conduct. On the present occasion his interests had not been neglected; we did interfere for him; and we were told, that his interests were at that time the subject of negotiation, and that he would receive an indemnity. Thus stood the case with regard to our acquisitions and to our allies. But it had been said, that we ought to have obtained more; that we ought to have obtained something to balance the great increase of power which France had acquired; that we have given France the means of increasing her maritime strength, and, in short, that we have signed the death-warrant of the country. Now, in the first place, if we had retained all our conquests, it would not have made any difference to us in point of security; would these acquisitions have enabled us to counterbalance the power which France had acquired on the continent? they would only give us a little more wealth; but a little more wealth would be badly purchased by a little more war; he should think so, even if we could be sure that one year's more war would give it to us, particularly when it was recollected how many years we had now been engaged in this contest. In speaking, however, about our resources, he would take upon himself to state, (and he hoped the house would give him credit for some knowledge upon the subject) that if any case of necessity should arise, or if our honor should require another contest, we were far, very far indeed, from the end of our pecuniary resources, which, he was happy to say, were greater than the enemy, or even the people of this country themselves had an idea of. Allusions had been made to former opinions and language; upon this subject he should only say, that peace having been restored between England and France, forbearance of language, and terms of respect, were proper; but it would be affectation and hypocrisy in him to say, that he had changed, or could change, his opinion of the character of the person presiding in France, until he saw a train of conduct which would justify that change. The great object of the war on our part was security. In order to obtain it, we certainly did look for the subversion of that government which was founded upon revolutionary principles. We never at any one period said, that, as a *sine qua non*, we insisted upon the restoration of the old government of France; we only said, there was no government with which we could treat—this was our language up to 1796; but in no one instance did we ever insist upon restoring the monarchy, though he did not hesitate to acknowledge, that it would have been more consistent with

the wishes of ministers, and with the interest and security of this country. He was equally ready to confess, that he had given up his hopes with the greatest reluctance; and he should, to his dying day, lament that there were not, on the part of the other powers of Europe, efforts corresponding to our own, for the accomplishment of that great work. There were periods, during the continuance of the war, in which they had hopes of being able to put together the scattered fragments of that great and venerable edifice, to have recalled the exiled nobility of France, to have restored a government, certainly not free from defects, but built upon sober and regular foundations, instead of that mad system of innovation which threatened, and had nearly accomplished the destruction of Europe. When this became unattainable he gave up his hopes; but we had the satisfaction of knowing, that we had survived the violence of the revolutionary fever, and we had seen the extent of its principles abated:—We had seen Jacobinism deprived of its fascination; we had seen it stripped of the name and pretext of liberty; it had shewn itself to be capable only of destroying, not of building, and that it must necessarily end in a military despotism; he trusted this important lesson would not be thrown away upon the world. He could not agree with those gentlemen who seemed to think that France had grown so much stronger than ourselves. When the immense acquisitions which France had made were taken into consideration on the one hand, it was but fair, on the other, to consider what she had lost in population, in commerce, in capital, and in habits of industry; the desolation produced by convulsions, such as France had undergone, could not be repaired even by large acquisitions of territory. When he took into consideration the immense wealth of this country, and the natural and legitimate growth of that wealth, so much superior to the produce of rapacity and plunder, he could not but entertain the hope, founded in justice and in nature, of its solidity. This hope was strengthened by collateral considerations, when he looked to the great increase of our maritime power, when he contemplated the additional naval triumphs that we had obtained, when he regarded the brilliant victories of our armies gained over the flower of the troops of France; troops which, in the opinion of many, were invincible—when he reflected upon these glorious achievements, though he could not but lament our disappointment in some objects, he had the satisfaction of thinking, that we had added strength to our security, and lustre to our national character. But there were two important events which had given the greatest consolidation to our strength; he alluded to the destruction of the power of Tippoo Sultaun in India. It had frequently been observed, that great dangers frequently produced in nations of a manly cast of mind, great and noble exertions: so when the most unparalleled danger threatened the sister kingdom, the feelings of a common cause between the people of both countries had enabled them to overcome prejudices, some of them perhaps laudable, and all of them deep-rooted, and led to that happy union, which adds more to the power and strength of the British empire, than all the conquests of one and indivisible France do to that country. These were consolations which he wished to recal to the recollection of those who entertained

gloomy apprehensions about the strength and resources of Great Britain. If any additional proofs were wanting to prove her ability to protect her honour and maintain her interest, let gentlemen look to the last campaign, and they would see Great Britain contending against a powerful confederacy in the North; they would see her fighting for those objects at once in Egypt and in the Baltic, and they would see her successful in both. We had shewn that we were ready to meet the threatened invasion at home, and could send troops to triumph over the French on the barren sands of Egypt, before a man could escape from Toulon to reinforce their blocked-up army; we had met the menaced invasion by attacking France on her own coasts; and we had seen those ships which were destined for the invasion of this country moored and chained to their shores, and finding protection only in their batteries. These were not only sources of justifiable pride, but grounds of solid security. We must depend for our security only upon ourselves; but if the views of France correspond with our own, we had every prospect of enjoying a long peace. He saw some symptoms that they were, though upon this he had no certain knowledge, but he would never rely upon personal character for the security of his country. He was inclined to hope every thing that was good, but he was bound to act as if he feared otherwise.

During the remainder of the session Mr. Pitt spoke very little in the house. He continued on the side of administration, who also derived much support from the adherents of Mr. Fox. Lord Grenville and his party were now decidedly their enemies. On the 25th of June, 1802, parliament rose. Ministers were popular, not less from the circumstance of peace being concluded under their auspices, than from the well founded belief which every where existed of their moderate views, their strict economy and their unsullied integrity. No event of importance occurred during this year, but the decree of the French government, which created Bonaparte consul for life, and the consequent change in the French constitution.

Early in the year 1803, Col. Despard and his traitorous associates were brought to trial. The British ministry seemed to be well acquainted with the hostile intentions of Bonaparte, though no symptom of a breach was manifested till the month of March, except an increased naval and military establishment. Not long after the session commenced, an overture was made by Mr. Addington, first to admit Mr. Pitt to an equal share of power with himself, nominating Lord Chatham as the ostensible prime minister; and finding this not satisfactory, it is said, Mr. Addington voluntarily proposed to reinstate Mr. Pitt in his former offices, and to accept, himself, a subordinate employment. Mr. Pitt, however, it is asserted, declined, unless he had a *carte blanche*, allowing him the sole nomination of every member of the cabinet; such a proposal was deemed unreasonable by the other party, and the negotiation terminated. In March two messages from his Majesty were delivered to parliament, which formally announced the great preparations in the enemy's ports, and the discussions which were pending between the English and French governments. In May these discussions terminated unfavorably, and the respective ambassadors were recalled. The papers relative to the cause of the rupture were immediately submitted to

both houses. On the 23d of this month an address to the king being moved, Mr. Pitt delivered his opinions, in reply to Mr. Erskine, at great length. He said, that upon the justice and necessity of the grounds on which we were compelled to enter into the war, he thought it almost impossible that the house should not be unanimous. In those transactions which had most immediately produced our present situation, the learned gentleman himself (Mr. Erskine) appeared, notwithstanding some doubts which he had thrown out on particular points, to admit, upon the whole, that there was such clear evidence of views of aggression and hostility on the part of France, as justified this country in retaining Malta for its own security. This he maintained to be the first great point on which the question turned; and he contended that the whole of Sebastiani's report, and the circumstances of his mission to Egypt, the express and deliberate avowal by Bonaparte himself, of his views and intentions in a formal conference with Lord Whitworth, and the information of the same intentions through the official channel of the minister for foreign affairs, afforded the clearest and most indisputable evidence, that the first Consul had formed the determination, even while Malta was yet in our hands, of resuming his hostile projects against Egypt; that the pursuit of such a project was an undeniable act of hostility against this country, and aimed at some of its most important interests; that it was, besides, a direct violation both of the letter and spirit of the treaty of Amiens itself, under pretence of which treaty alone our evacuation of that island was demanded. With respect to the avowal of his design by the first consul himself, he referred to Lord Whitworth's account, in his dispatch of the 21st of Feb. which took place by the express appointment of the first Consul—that it was therefore evidently prepared and deliberate. In the course of this conversation, the first Consul did not attempt to disguise his ultimate views upon Egypt; and in a subsequent conversation with M. Talleyrand, it was expressly admitted that the acquisition of Egypt had been, and still was, a favorite object of the first Consul. To all the evidence founded on these several documents, he had heard but one argument proposed—the improbability of the French government thus disclosing its views, if it really entertained them. He thought, however, that the difficulty of accounting for the disclosure was removed, by referring to the new and peculiar policy which had marked the conduct of France from the very beginning of the revolution. Where any measure was in contemplation more flagrant and atrocious than another, instead of carefully concealing it till the moment of execution, it had, on the contrary, been studiously announced before hand; that the object of this policy had been gradually to familiarize men's minds to that which at first they could scarcely even believe, and that their schemes, which, in the first instance, were received with horror, and would have been opposed with indignation, came afterwards to be contemplated with neglect and indifference; and, in the end, such as it was hopeless and impossible to resist. He therefore put it to the house, whether, after having observed this practice, it was impossible for us to be so credulous and childish, as to act on the belief that Bonaparte would abandon the projects he had formed, only because he had him-

self told us he would persist in them, and he wished the house to consider what was to be our future conduct, if, after all the warnings given us, we were now to surrender Malta out of our hands, and the attack upon Egypt were to follow in six or in twelve months afterwards. If the question were closed here, Mr. Pitt observed, that for the reasons he had given, he was prepared to maintain, that on these grounds alone the war was both just and necessary, and such as ought to call forth the utmost exertions of parliament and the nation in its support. But so far was this from being the case, that there were not any one of the leading transactions subsequent to the treaty of Amiens, to which his majesty's declaration referred, which was not, in his opinion, as far as justice was concerned, a clear and evident cause of war, and such as would have been acted upon, if there were sufficient means of co-operation on the continent, in almost every period of the history of this country. He here alluded to the annexation of Piedmont, to the transaction respecting the German indemnities, where the French government, with an arrogance, he believed, unprecedented in the history of Europe, had presumed to dictate to all Germany the detailed mode of arranging those indemnities—to the violence offered to Switzerland, on which he thought it the less necessary to dwell, because he believed the conduct of France towards that unfortunate and devoted country had excited one universal sentiment of detestation—and lastly, to the continuance of the French armies in Holland. After dwelling on these points, it was impossible to contend that they were not symptoms of that deliberate system of ambition and encroachment which had been thus uniformly pursued towards others, and which was now directed to a quarter where it immediately affected our separate interests, and was in direct violation of the treaty with this country itself. He here drew a strong picture of the continued and rapid succession of the acts of violence and oppression which, during this period, had desolated so many of the countries of Europe; and after comparing the irresistible force and overwhelming progress of French ambition, to those dreadful convulsions of nature, by which provinces and kingdoms were consumed and buried in ruins, he asked whether we could contemplate those scenes of havoc and destruction, without reflecting how soon that torrent of liquid fire might direct its ravages against ourselves? Having closed his review of what had passed on the continent, he would next refer to two points which appeared in the correspondence. The first was the demand which had been made by the French government, respecting the restraints on the liberty of the press, and the expulsion of the French emigrants now remaining in the country. On this it was unnecessary to enlarge, because the insolence of the proposition was sufficiently felt, and because it had been at the time resisted by his majesty's ministers, on grounds which were stated with great force and ability in one of the papers on the table. The second point related to the commercial agents; the indignity and outrage which attended their mission, was one of which it was difficult to speak with composure. The French government had made a formal proposition to send persons of this description, who had never been found necessary even when a commercial treaty subsisted,

at a time when not only there was no such treaty, but when, as appears from the papers on the table, the commercial intercourse of his majesty's subjects with France was suffering every degree of violence and oppression.

This proposition had naturally and wisely been refused. The French government then proceeded clandestinely to send these agents in the train of their ambassadors; and not content with this breach of the law of nations, they afterwards addressed to them instructions, under the official character in which they had received admittance; and the object of these instructions was to direct them to take measures, in time of peace, for ascertaining the soundings of ports, and for obtaining military information of districts; acts for which they would have been hanged as spies in time of war. He maintained, therefore, that all these indignities and insults, as well as the encroachments and violences of which he had before been speaking, on the continent, must enter deeply into our consideration in judging of the character and ultimate views and policy of our enemy. They must decisively confirm us in the resolution to employ, without hesitation, the most vigorous and determined resistance; he felt convinced that there never was an occasion on which it more clearly became the indispensable duty of parliament to concur with his majesty in the declaration of the necessity and justice of the war in which we were engaged, and to assure him of firm and effectual support. But in giving these assurances, he trusted that other gentlemen felt impressed with the same sense which he did of the awful importance of the engagement into which they were preparing to enter, and that they considered those assurances not as formal words of ceremony or custom, but as a solemn and deliberate pledge on behalf of themselves and the nation whom they represented. For his own part, although he regarded the war as a war of necessity, and one which we could not decline without surrendering both our security and our honour, he should enter upon it with little hopes of ultimate success, if these sentiments were not deeply impressed on the minds of parliament and the people. The scale of our exertions could not be measured by those of former times, or confined within the limits even of the great, and, till then, unexampled efforts of the last war. Some system far more vigorous and effectual than any even then adopted, would be found necessary, both in our finances, and in the preparation for national defence. He was persuaded, that it could only be by providing in the outset, means adequate to the whole extent of these purposes, that could ensure the best chance either of bringing the contest to a speedy conclusion, by convincing the enemy of our sufficiency to maintain it, or could meet its continued exigencies, if necessary, without the annual recurrence of growing and accumulated embarrassments. We had not an option at this moment between the blessings of peace and the dangers of war. From the fatality of the times, and the general state of the world, we must consider our lot as cast by the decrees of providence, in a time of peril and trouble—he trusted the temper and courage of the nation would conform itself to the duties of that situation—we should be prepared collectively and individually to meet it with that resigna-

tion and fortitude, and, at the same time, with that active zeal and exertion, which, in proportion to the magnitude of the crisis, might be expected from a brave and free people—and we should reflect, even in the hour of trial, what abundant reason we have to be grateful to providence for the distinction we enjoy over most of the countries of Europe, and for all the advantages and blessings which national wisdom and virtue have hitherto protected, and which it now depends on perseverance in the same just and honourable sentiments, still to guard and to preserve. Such were the sentiments of Mr. Pitt upon the causes and consequences of the present war.

The debate on Mr. Fox's motion for endeavouring to obtain the mediation of Russia, produced a very eloquent speech from Mr. Pitt. He rejoiced, he said, to be able to agree with the honorable gentleman in his general principles, though he could not but remember there have been times when the honorable gentleman differed from him on the application of those principles, with vehemence that looked very like an entire condemnation of them; but far be it from me, said he, to enter upon those topics, to call forth difference of opinion, and to provoke former disputes. I allude to them to shew that the principles I now applaud are not new to me. My approbation of them is recorded in my past conduct. I am glad that the honorable gentleman has proclaimed them with so much precision and force; I hope they will have the benefit of his great authority, and the recommendation of his great talents (and greater authority they cannot have) to remove objections which have sheltered themselves, perhaps, more than there was ground for, under his name, against all common cause with the rest of Europe, and against sacrificing, in any circumstances, the least portion of British interests, for the balance and preservation of the continent. But while I approve the principle of keeping a watchful eye upon the state of the continent, I do not mean that, on every occasion, upon every movement, we ought to interfere with continental affairs. All I say is, that no great convulsions which shall unhinge the established interests and dissolve former relations can take place without involving consequences highly important to Great Britain.

On the 3d of June, Mr. Patten moved for a vote of censure against ministers. The debate had been protracted to a great length, when Mr. Pitt rose. His speech seemed to imply, in some sort, a separation from the ministry.—If I professed, said he, a full and clear opinion on the merits of the case, to the extent of either directly negating or adopting the resolutions which have been proposed, I should, following the unbiassed dictates of my conscience, give my vote on that side to which my judgment inclined. But to this extent, either of approbation or of censure, I am unable to go.

Those who, with me, have not made up their minds to the extent of censuring ministers by the adoption of the propositions, or approving their conduct by agreeing to a direct negative, must pursue some middle course. Impressed, as I am, with those feelings, I move that the other orders of the day be now read. Lord Hawkesbury made a most animated reply, in which he declared, that he should consider that he and his colleagues shrunk from their duty, could they accept

such a compromise. Upon Mr. Pitt's motion being put, 36 divided with him against 333.

On the 6th of June, Mr. Pitt, in a debate on the militia bill, expressed some uneasiness at the delay of ministers in bringing forward their measures. He applauded every desire which ministers could manifest to labour with perseverance, to consider of the best means for the safety of the state; "but," said he, "do it effectually; and to do it effectually, you must do it soon. The question now is, will you save your country? Save it in the best and most prudent way, if you can; but save it! If any prejudice should arise against you—if any temporary odium should attach to your measures—if it be for the safety of the country, or for its honour, pursue it—pursue it although you may have to contend with prejudice—pursue it, although you may have to encounter odium—pursue it, even although you may have to subdue resistance! Do it! for the country must be saved!" On the 23d of June, Mr. Pitt again spoke in support of ministry, upon the army of reserve bill. The session terminated on the 12th of August.

The events of the year 1803 were stamped with great importance. The commencement of hostilities was accompanied by insurrection in Ireland. This was, however, soon put down by the mild but vigorous measures of Mr. Addington's government. The operations of the war were principally carried on in the West. St. Lucie was taken by General Grinfield and Commodore Hood; Tobago capitulated, Demarara, Essequibo and Berbice (Dutch settlements) were captured; St. Pierre and Miquelon were also taken, and finally, General Rochambeau and 8000 men, together with two frigates and some other vessels lying in one of the harbours of St. Domingo, surrendered. Two line of battle ships had just before struck to the British flag.

Parliament met on the 22d of November, 1803. The debates on the 9th of December, on the army estimates, embraced the whole subject of the general defence of the country. Mr. Pitt entered at large upon the question. He undertook in a very spirited manner to support the efficacy of the volunteer establishment, and he proposed to confine himself strictly to the subject then before the committee, the number and the formation of the different descriptions of military force which had been provided for the defence of the empire. He defended the propriety of establishing a large volunteer force, and affirmed that the opinion of parliament, repeatedly and distinctly expressed, fully justified our having recourse to a great national force, independently of the regular army and the militia. He looked to the army as the great rallying point to which the volunteers must have recourse, by whose example they must be regulated, by whose experience they must be guided. But these corps, he conceived, might be improved and matured to such a degree of perfection as would enable government to employ a large proportion of the regulars abroad. Of the amount of the volunteer force he saw no reason to complain. In their distribution, however, he could have wished that the numbers had been greater in the more exposed parts of the maritime coast. For he was decidedly of opinion that a smaller number of men who could oppose the enemy immediately on their landing, and almost before they could ascend the beach, would be much

more serviceable than a much larger number after the enemy had obtained a footing in the country. Mr. Pitt stated, that the object he had more immediately in view, was to render this force an efficient and permanent army. He was apprehensive that the estimates contained no adequate provision for giving them a greater degree of discipline, system and improvement. For this object he was desirous, that all volunteer companies should be brought to act in battalions, and whenever it could be done, in brigades. He also proposed to give to every battalion the assistance of a field officer and an adjutant; such officers still retaining their rank and pay in the army. With respect to the number of days, which the corps should be exercised, he was of opinion, that about fifty days would be sufficient for the next year, and forty for each succeeding year, if the house should agree with him in opinion, that the appointment of field officers and adjutants should be adopted. Still the object he had in view could not be attained merely by the instruction of these officers, without some regulations to ensure punctual attendance, which would keep up the number of the volunteers, and give them the habits and steadiness of soldiers. Looking as we ought to look, to a protracted contest, we ought to provide the means of maintaining it for a length of time; we ought never to forget with whom we are contending; if it were apprehended that the danger was withdrawn, the spirit of the volunteers might languish and moulder for a time, though it certainly would not be extinguished. It should be the great object of government to prevent that spirit from subsiding, lest the country be called upon to meet the sudden but long meditated attack of the enemy. Perhaps something like the compulsory act of the last session might be adopted, during the war, in order to keep up the number and the punctual attendance of the volunteers, and to preserve that subordination, which is essential to progressive improvement. On the subject of the sea fencibles, Mr. Pitt observed, he should agree with his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) that if they were composed of a class of men liable to be impressed into his majesty's sea service, it would not only be an useless, but an improper institution. But the main object for which they were employed was to serve on board gun-boats, for which they were peculiarly qualified. In this point of view, he looked upon them as one of the most valuable parts of our force; and this description of service brought into activity a body of men, who, being chiefly pilots and fishermen, could be neither employed in the navy, nor be permanently taken from their families. Declining to enter into any wider field of discussion, Mr. Pitt concluded by stating, that, at the proper time, he should propose the resolutions to which he had alluded. In a subsequent debate on the 27th of February, 1804, Mr. P. enforced his former arguments, but he manifested some discontent at the proposed measures; he felt a conviction that much remained to be done, which the bills before the house could not accomplish. He proposed bounties, fines, and other means of stimulus to the volunteers to undertake permanent duty for short periods, and to ensure attendance, and concluded by declaring that it was not enough that our preparations were great—they ought to be complete. In the last reading of the bill, Mr. Pitt defended it against the proposition of an armed

peasantry, to which he considered the volunteer force to be decidedly superior in a country like England, upon every possible ground of just comparison.

From the occasional opposition which Mr. Pitt had made to government, it was now evident that he was dissatisfied with the general measures of Mr. Addington's administration. A motion which he made in the month of March, for an enquiry into the state of our naval force, very fully discovered that this dissatisfaction was of no ordinary extent. He proposed a series of motions for an address to his majesty, praying that he would be pleased to give orders for laying before the house a variety of documents relative to the state of our naval force in the years 1790, 1801, and 1803. When the description of the enemy's preparations was considered, he said, it might be supposed that the great object of the admiralty would have been to augment that kind of force which was most applicable to the peculiar circumstances of the empire, but it was not before the beginning of January, that any contract was entered into for building any portion of that description of force, and then only 23 gun vessels were contracted for, of which five were to be completed at the end of nine months. Sensible that it was infinitely desirable to accelerate the actual service of every description of light force, it was his object, that an account of the orders issued by the admiralty for building these vessels should be laid before the house, specifying the terms of the contract and the time agreed on for its completion. If this paper should be produced, he should feel it his duty, on a future day to move that an address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give orders for using greater expedition in augmenting that species of naval force best calculated for meeting and resisting any attack of the enemy, for guarding the narrow seas, and for protecting the coasts of the country. In the course of the last war, the zeal and activity of the board of admiralty had augmented the number of ships of the line to one hundred and twenty. On the conclusion of peace, the permanent establishment of the navy ought to have been a subject of the deepest interest; and the propriety of supplying successive augmentations should have formed a matter of uniform attention. There were two modes by which this subject might be effected: building in his majesty's dock-yards and contracting for ships in the yards of private merchants. From the history of this country for a long series of years, it appeared that building ships of the line in the merchants' yards was generally resorted to. During the last war, no less than 26 sail of the line, were added to the navy, of this number only two ships were laid down in the king's dock-yards after the war broke out, and these were not brought into service till a late period of its duration: The inference to be drawn from the facts was plain. If supplies of ships may be required during the continuance of the war, and there is no probability of procuring these supplies through the king's dockyards, those of the private merchants must be resorted to. But, if he was not grossly misinformed, Mr. Pitt said, the board of admiralty had made no contract to any extent for supplying the deficiencies of the navy. Since the year 1801, when the present board

of admiralty come into power, not more than two ships of the line had been contracted for in any of the merchants' yards. It appeared to him that a stronger ground could not be urged for inquiring into this subject. With respect to the number of seamen now employed, contrasted with the number in the first year of the last war, he observed that the number was then augmented from the peace establishment of 16,000 to no less than 76,000. At the commencement of the present year, we set out with an establishment of 50,000, and with the prospect of a rupture from hour to hour. In consequence of the prodigious increase of our commerce, the mercantile marine of the country, the great nursery for the navy, had increased in an astonishing degree; and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, the number of seamen had been augmented to only 86,000. Mr. Pitt concluded by a few general observations, stating that, at present, he wished the production of the papers, for which he intended to move, merely as preparatory to future inquiry. Ministers replied at length in their own justification, and they had on this occasion the assistance of Mr. Sheridan's splendid eloquence. They objected to the production of the papers. Mr. Pitt replied with great force to the various arguments which had been advanced against the motion. He considered the refusal of ministers to produce the papers as tantamount to a declaration, that if full information should be afforded, doubts must still rest upon the minds of the members of that house, which could alone be removed by serious investigation. The first prominent feature of this motion was, to ascertain whether we possessed such a naval force as would be fully competent to the security of these islands. The next was, to lay a foundation to keep the navy upon such an establishment, that, whatever may be its present condition, a permanent force may be in future supported, adequate to the accumulating perils to which the nation may be exposed. "Are not these," he asked, "grave and important considerations? Are they not directed to provide against the greatest possible calamity, and for the security, nay, the very existence of the country? I have been told, that I have been seized with a panic to which the gallant heart of the noble lord at the head of the admiralty is a stranger.—That noble lord, I well know, is superior to all ignoble fear; but he would be wholly unfit for the station he occupies, if he were not to entertain a rational conviction of danger; if he did not know that difficulties were to be encountered, under the mighty system of hostility adopted by France. If ministers have felt none of these apprehensions, if to this alarm or panic they have been wholly superior, how are we to explain their recent conduct? For what purpose have they been engaging the time of parliament with prolix and energetic discussions on the military force necessary to defend the sacred soil of our country from insult and violation?—Whence all this bustle and activity, this voluminous correspondence with the most eminent characters in military life?—Whence this variety of measures, which I will not say they have proposed, but to which they have acceded? Is this too all vain delusion? Or have they with me been degraded by a panic which they assume when military affairs are under consideration, and reject with indignation when the naval force is the subject of debate?

It has been truly said, that the naval defence of the land is our national passion, in which we indulge all the excesses of instinctive pride. With this generous propensity, let us look to the collective strength of the enemy on the opposite coast, which seems to realize the fictions of ancient story. Can it be supposed, with this view before us, we can for a moment forget all the advantages of our insular situation; the glories of our maritime strength; the navy which has extended our commerce, which has established our authority, which has raised us to the rank we enjoy amongst surrounding empires, and which has conduced to our power and aggrandizement in every quarter of the earth? Can we, in the moment of danger, fail to remember this grand source of public security? When the enemy, notwithstanding the loss of their internal trade, their external commerce, their fisheries, the very foundation of their navy, have, in the prosecution of a gigantic enterprize, erected an artificial marine of prodigious extent, are we not to proportion our means to the new circumstances in which we are placed, to the new perils to which we are exposed? I trust, therefore, I shall not be accused of disgraceful fear or idle panic, if I contend that our exertions ought, at this moment, to exceed all former efforts, since the dangers by which we are encompassed exceed all former peril. In urging the importance of the kind of minor marine, which Mr. Pitt had recommended, it was by no means his intention, as has been misrepresented, to lay aside the floating castles by which this country is protected; for should the flotilla of the enemy venture to our coast, he had no doubt that a wide destruction and general confusion would be occasioned by the annoyance of our regular navy. But among the vast multitude, some might escape. In recommending, therefore, this lesser navy, his object was to render certain that security which otherwise would be only probable. The larger ships would constitute our first defence; our flotilla would be destined to protect the shallows; our third expedient would be if possible, to prevent by our army the landing of the enemy; the fourth was, should they gain a footing on English ground, to meet them in the field of slaughter. "But," said Mr. Pitt, "we are amused with a brilliant flash of eloquence, not lately a source of ordinary entertainment in this house, and we are told by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) all this scheme of gun-vessels is a job. This sentiment, clothed in a wandering meteor, which fixed its ray of indignation upon me, shall not so far dazzle my organs of vision as to prevent my discovering the way by which I may relieve myself from the terrors of its effulgence. It is not necessary to conclude, because a service has been converted into a job, that it is an useless service." Mr. Pitt concluded by saying, he was sorry that what he proposed might tend in some degree to implicate Earl St Vincent; but he had to repeat, that no tenderness, no consideration for that character, high and great as it deservedly was, should induce him to sacrifice his duty to the public, whose safety, in such a crisis as the present, was the first object of his heart. Mr. Pitt's motion was lost by a majority of 71; but it was understood that some of the documents for which he had moved would be produced.

Dissatisfied with the measures which ministers had adopted for the

defence of the country, Mr. Fox, on the 23d of April, moved, that it be referred to a committee to revise the several bills which had been passed during the last and present sessions of parliament, for the defence of the country, and to consider of such further measures as may be necessary to render the said defence more complete and permanent. He supported his motion in a very long and able speech; Mr. Pitt argued on the side of Mr. Fox, and went into a direct and bitter opposition. He expressed the most decided disapprobation of the measures of government. The spirited exertions which had been made to organize the strength of the country, were not, he said, to be ascribed to the direction and energy of ministers. No one measure could they claim as their own; no one measure had they improved and perfected; but many they had weakened and destroyed by their incongruities. Whatever then the spirit and zeal of a free and brave people may have been under the sense of danger, ought fairly to be separated from the tardiness, languor and imbecility of ministers in every thing of which they have assumed the direction. Is it enough, Mr. Pitt asked, to have provided against the danger of a final conquest? Enough, he affirmed, has not been done, unless we have adopted every practicable and rational means of defeating the enemy, should they invade our shores, with the least sacrifice of life, with the least waste of the public resources, with that signal overthrow and destruction which will forever deter them from a repetition of the attack, and for ever relieve the country from the alarm and anxiety of invasion. In conclusion, the right honorable gentleman stated, that, judging of ministers from what they had done, and what they had omitted to do, from their slowness to adept, and their incapacity to act upon any vigorous plan for the public defence, from the very long consideration they required upon even the most trifling topics, and the very crude and ill-digested measures they, notwithstanding, uniformly brought forward; from all these considerations, he felt himself urged, by a strong sense of duty to the house, to his country, and to his sovereign, to vote for the appointment of a committee to consider of devising some effectual means for our protection, and for the security of all that a great nation could hold to be valuable. Mr. Fox's motion was, however, lost, by a majority of 52.

On the 25th of April, Mr. Yorke having moved that the house should go into a committee on the bill for the suspension of the army of reserve act, Mr. Pitt was again the opponent of administration.—After offering his arguments against the plans before the house, he suggested one which he considered preferable—this was to reduce the militia, by not filling up vacancies to 40,000, and to increase the army of reserve in proportion; thus he thought that high bounties arising from the competition between the two services would be decreased, and the regular army augmented. When the army of reserve amount to 60,000, 10 or 15,000 should be annually permitted to enlist into the line, and the vacancies filled up. The ballot ought also to be differently regulated. If the person on whom the ballot falls would not serve, he ought to be excused on paying a certain sum, and the parish should find a substitute; where no substitute could be found, the sum should be paid to the colonel, and the bounty of the recruiting service be so regulated as to keep that for limited

service, below that of the regular army. Mr. Fox gave his hearty assent to Mr. Pitt's plan, and ministers carried the question by a majority of 37 only.

From the tenor of these debates it is obvious, that the military and naval arrangements of Mr. Addington's administration were conceived by the leading members of the opposition, to furnish abundant materials for the public dissatisfaction. The general measures of government were described as having assumed such a character of indecision, that ministers were supposed no longer to enjoy that degree of public confidence, without which no administration can maintain its ground. Such was represented to be the state of things in the early part of the present year. About the middle of February, some traces were perceptible of a coalition which was forming for the express purpose of producing a change in the ministry. Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham were supposed to have agreed upon an union of parliamentary endeavors to effect this object. It does not appear, that, at this time, the efforts of Mr. Pitt were in unison with their exertions. That he was decidedly adverse to the ministry was undoubted; that he was desirous of a change in the cabinet was equally manifest; but that he was disposed uniformly to co-operate with this new opposition, is difficult to ascertain. It was not till April that the opposition was strengthened by the accession of his powerful talents. To effect a change, generally, seems to have been the sole aim of their opposition.

The first public intimation that a change in his majesty's government was in agitation was indirectly communicated to the house of lords by Lord Hawkesbury. On the 30th of April a resignation of part of the ministry took place, and, it is said, that a communication from his majesty was made to Mr. Pitt on the third of May, through the medium of the lord chancellor. The high office of chancellor of the exchequer was at this time offered to Mr. Pitt; but the tender is reported to have been made with an express stipulation against the revival of the catholic question, and the admission into the cabinet of the great leader of the old opposition. On the 7th of May, an interview took place between his Majesty and Mr. Pitt, upon which occasion his majesty is said to have expressed no objection to Lord Grenville, Earl Spencer, Mr. Windham, or indeed to any of their friends, with one exception. Upon this point his majesty's resolution was unalterably fixed. A few hours after the interview, Mr. Pitt communicated the result to Lord Grenville. His lordship, it had been stated, immediately observed to Mr. Pitt, that without including Mr. Fox in the administration, and without a complete abandonment of the principle of exclusion, not a single member of the new opposition would accede to any new ministerial arrangements. It may be proper to mention, that the leading members of the new opposition were the lords Grenville, Minto, Fitzwilliam, Carlisle and Spencer; Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, Mr. Grenville and Mr. Elliot. When the personal objection to Mr. Fox was stated to him, and the firm determination of those with whom he had lately acted, not to form any part of an administration from which he was to be excluded, he is reported to have professed his desire to see

his majesty surrounded by a strong administration, and wished the members of the old and new opposition not to be influenced by any personal feeling, but consult only the good of the country. Notwithstanding this liberal advice, they refused to accept of power without the support of his official co-operation. An explicit declaration of the sentiments of those with whom Lord Grenville acted was formally made to Mr. Pitt, in a letter dated the 8th of May, 1804, of which his lordship is universally believed to be the author. The sentiments of Mr. Pitt on the subject of the formation of the ministry were expressed in the debate on the measure which he afterwards proposed for the augmentation of the public force. The choice of ministers, he said, rested wholly with the crown. It was the undisputed prerogative of his majesty to select and leave out whom he pleased. This was one of the essential, fundamental points of our monarchical constitution. With a direct reference to Lord Grenville, and several persons for whom he had great affection and esteem, he expressed his regret that they had declined the assistance and co-operation which he had wished to obtain. He reminded them of the favorable opinions they had lately entertained of him, when, thinking higher of him than he did of himself, they had called for his return to office, singly and unconditionally, and said, that circumstance alone would re-inspire them with confidence and command their support. His allusion to Mr. Fox was marked with less personal and public regret; for it seems, Mr. Pitt doubted whether his admission into the cabinet would, at the same time that it might communicate energy to his majesty's councils, contribute to produce that decided unity of operation which appeared to be so exceedingly desirable. Sincere as he was in his wishes for an extended administration, Mr. Pitt said, that the radical difference of associates which this question had discovered, led him to doubt whether it could have been achieved to any permanent or beneficial effect—an union of elements so discordant might, he conceived have produced an effect very different from what was hoped and intended. Mr. Pitt again became chancellor of the exchequer, the other places in administration were filled by Lords Hawkesbury, Harrowby, Melville, Camden, and Messrs. W. Dundas and Canning, to the exclusion of the friends of Lord Grenville Mr. Addington, and Mr. Fox.

The new administration having taken their seats, some efficient measures, with regard to military force were expected, and, indeed, the residue of the session was almost wholly devoted to this subject.—On the 5th of June, Mr. Pitt submitted to the house a motion for raising a permanent military force, and for the gradual reduction of the militia—the plan was the same as detailed in Mr. Pitt's former speech. The ballot was abolished; the whole task of supplying the quota of men thus rested upon the parish officers, and a time for non-compliance was established. No measure produced longer discussion than this, and it was finally carried by 42, notwithstanding the opposition of the Grenvilles, the Foxes, and the Addingtons. Little of importance to the subject of these annals passed during the Session. Mr. Witterforce, after a perseverance of 16 years, obtained a vote for the gradual abolition of the slave trade. Parliament was prorogued on the 31st of July.

During this year the offensive operations of the war were wholly confined to the blockade of the enemy's ports, and to attacks upon the flotilla assembled for the purpose of conveying the invaders at Boulogne. On these however, we could make but small impression. Surinam did, indeed surrender to an armament under Sir Charles Green. The most important act of hostility was the detention of four Spanish frigates on the 5th of October. At home great preparations were made for internal defence, in the equipment and direction of the volunteer force. The principal events were the seizure and execution of the Duke d'Enghien, by order of Bonaparte, the arresting of Georges, Pichegru, and Moreau, on a charge of conspiracy, the seizure of Sir G. Rumbold, the British ambassador, at Hamburg, and the elevation of Bonaparte to the throne of France, with the title of Emperor and the hereditary succession to his family. The Spanish declaration of war against Great Britain was issued on the 14th of December.

Parliament met on the 13th of January, 1805. The speech noticed with approbation the great efforts of this country; it related that Spain had declared war, and that the papers should be submitted to parliament. A proposition of treating for peace (which had been recently received) was the only other topic, and his majesty expressed his sincere desire to restore the blessings of peace, but declined to enter into further explanation till he had consulted his allies. The debate which followed was not remarkable. Mr. Fox was supported by the Grenville party, and Mr. Pitt received an accession of strength in the friends of Mr. Addington, who was now reconciled to Mr. P. and appointed to the presidency of the council, with the title of Lord Sidmouth. On the 11th of Feb. the Spanish papers were taken into consideration; Mr. Pitt opened the debate, and in a speech of two hours and a half, recapitulated the principal circumstances attending the negotiation. From this it appeared that Spain had entered into an offensive and defensive treaty with France, by which the contracting parties bound themselves mutually to assist each other with 15 sail of the line and 24,000 men. When hostilities commenced, intelligence was immediately given to our minister at Madrid. He was to announce to that court, that if aids were afforded to France beyond a stipulated sum, such assistance to the enemy would be considered a declaration of war against England. Further, the admission of troops from France, was stated to be a justifiable ground of hostility. In such events, our minister was to quit Madrid, and instructions were to be given to the commanders of the British forces, naval and military, to secure all the advantages the nature of their situations admitted. The Spaniards were anxious to elude the terms of their obnoxious treaty with the French government, and had offered to give an equivalent for the limited succours. The demand of France was equal to three millions per ann. sufficient in this country to maintain three ships of the line and 24,000 men. On the 17th of September, Admiral Cochrane gave intelligence of armaments in the port of Ferrol. The cessation of hostile armaments was a *sine qua non* of our forbearance, but armaments were multiplied. Measures of precaution were now become inevitable, said Mr. P. Having apprised Spain of the only terms on which we could continue our system of forbearance, having

distinctly restricted to precise limitations, the privileges of neutrality, having told her that any armaments in her ports, after our connivance at her pecuniary succours to France, would be deemed by us a violation of her pretended neutrality—a forfeiture of all the advantages of our forbearance, and of that forbearance itself; having informed her, that, in not conforming with the terms on which we had agreed to suffer her to enjoy the benefits of our moderation, she would place herself in a state of war; having added to this, that such a conduct on her part, would amount to a declaration of war—what would have been said of his majesty's ministers if, when the proceedings of Spain had violated every agreement, and all the possible terms of her own pretended neutrality, no measures of precaution had been taken by the government of Great Britain? I know the intelligence of Admiral Cochrane has been questioned. The single thing against it to which weight is attached, is that of a piece of news, given by M. D'Anduaga, in one of his notes, the last indeed to the British government. M. D'Anduaga, when first he received the intelligence of the seizure of the frigates of his nation, addressed a note to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, in which he states, that the colonel of the regiment of Hibernia had received letters from some officers of his regiment at Ferrol, stating, that the armament preparing, in that harbour, of which his regiment is part, was destined to go against the insurgents of Biscay. I do not know what gentlemen think of such information. I will not disparage the authors of it; but most certainly I am of opinion that information from a British admiral is higher authority than the information from the Hibernian colonel. As to the assemblage and arming at Ferrol, it is more probable, however, that they were originally intended for a secret expedition of some sort, but that when it became known that Biscay was in a disturbed state, as the troops could not be spared for a secret expedition, they were ordered to be landed, and received a destination altogether remote from that which was assigned them under the plan which had led to their assemblage. If it was otherwise, it never occurred to the governor of Galicia to tell Admiral Cochrane, when this officer wrote to him for explanation, that the armament at Ferrol was destined to act against the Biscayans. On this subject the evidence of the governor of Galicia is conclusive. This person, in answer to the first letter of Admiral Cochrane, demanding explanations of the armaments in the ports of Ferrol, replies, that it was an arming of some vessels for a secret expedition, and not that it was an expedition destined against the insurgents of Biscay. Mr. Frere stated at Madrid, his apprehensions respecting that armament, to which M. Cevallos makes no other answer, than they were not intended to hurt us; not that they were collected to quell the revolt of the subjects of Spain. It was scarcely possible that it could be at first intended to act against the revolted province. If the force had been wanted to quell an insurrection in Biscay, and that it had been proper to have sent such force by sea, Spain had abundance of small craft in which to transport her troops. In the second place, if she must employ her ships of war, what was more obviously likely to have been her course, than to have taken out their guns and armed her vessels en flute. Add to this, that Spain has no ports, or none at which she could, with any hope of safety, land troops

in Biscay. But where and when was Spain to land her troops, if we grant for the sake of the argument, that such was her intention? Why, Sir, in the Bay of Biscay; that bay, incomparably the most tempestuous in Europe; and in this bay, the dread of the hardest mariners, she was to land her troops, in the midst of the equinoxial gales! Days and weeks elapsed without one order, account or explanation from that court to its minister, M. D'Anduaga, to remove, at the court of England, those just apprehensions, jealousies, and inquietudes which the known proceedings at Ferrol were, of necessity, to create.—Not one word of explanation was given to our Charge-d'Affairs, of the nature and object of these armaments; but he was told, generally, that they were not intended to hurt Great Britain. The simple question in reference to our moderation towards Spain, is not whether we did not do enough, but whether we did not do too much!—whether we did not remit our due vigour and decision in not declaring war on the instant? If we had at once declared war, it would have been consistent with substantial justice. As it was, our reservation amounted to a pointed and conditional declaration of war. Even in the detention of the ships the moderation of his majesty and his government were obvious as unequivocal. We detained the frigates of Spain, indeed, but, by the mode of that detention, we left a door open to Spain, to return to her ancient friendship, to the line of her generous and magnanimous policy in better days, to the course of her high-minded, honorable propensities and feelings, to her true interests, to the paths of her renown and her glory. On these grounds, and, I flatter myself, Sir, it will not be thought claiming too much to ask, as I do, the judgment of the house, not in disapprobation and disavowal, not to question the conduct of his majesty's government, but to lay at the foot of the throne our unqualified approbation of the forbearance and moderation of his majesty's dispositions and policy; of his earnest desires to avoid hostilities, by the opportunities afforded to Spain to alter her conduct; and of our firm determination to support him in the present war with Spain, for the maintenance of his just prerogatives, of the honor and dignity of his crown, and rights and liberties of his people." Mr. Grey having moved an amendment, censuring the late and present ministry, the debate was adjourned to the next day, when it was resumed, and after an eloquent reply from the chancellor of the exchequer, the amendment was negatived by a majority of 207. On the 18th, Mr. Pitt produced his budget; the total of supply was 13,690,000*l*. for England, 2,000,000*l*. of which were raised by loan. The new taxes were, 25 per cent. on the property tax, (introduced during the Addington administration) a tax on letters, legacies, and a variety of articles of customs and excise. The efforts of the opposition were first directed against Mr. Pitt's act for the defence of the country. The attack was opened by Mr. Windham, but Mr. Pitt did not speak upon the question. On the 6th of March it was renewed by Mr. Sheridan, who spoke at great length. Mr. Pitt, in reply, defended the bill. His speech is chiefly remarkable as far as it respects Mr. Windham's return to his first political friends, and his secession from Mr. Pitt. The honorable gentleman, (Mr. Sheridan) happens, said he, at present to concur in

opinion with a right honorable gentleman, with whom I have acted, and for many years concurred in opinion; who, as to all my personal feelings and dispositions, I still regard as my right honorable friend, but of whom I cannot politically speak in language so suited to my wishes. But as to the cordiality of the two honorable gentlemen, why, Sir, if it be expected to be found as it appears from the speech of the right honorable gentleman to-night, notwithstanding his professions, I much doubt, whether lasting friendship, or permanent connections will ever arise amid engagements so dissimilar and from elements so discordant. The honorable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) disclaimed the idea of opposing, materially the doctrines or sentiments of the right honorable gentleman; but this he took care to do away in a subsequent sentence, by rendering his forbearance conditional. He has told us, that there was not one principle in the speech of the right honorable gentleman that he does not more or less approve, although, in point of fact, Sir, there was not one principle in it that he has not unequivocally disapproved. In many glaring parts of his speech, this can be detected. The honorable gentleman tells us, that he approves of a varied force; the honorable gentleman again, holds it as a first principle, that the military force should be uniform. The honorable gentleman approves of our having an army for general service, one for limited service, the militia, old and supplementary, the army of reserve, and the volunteers; these distributions the right honorable gentleman vilifies; they are ingredients of our force which are decried by him, but in which the honorable gentleman who spoke to night (Mr. Sheridan) takes pride, nay, even glories—Why, Sir, the honorable gentleman, we could all perceive, was not able to restrain his fervent disapprobation of any other system. Notwithstanding this, I have no reason to suppose, that there is not too much good humour prevalent in the dispositions of those two *new* friends, for any observations of mine to make mischief between them. I do know it is not by any means my intention, by any observations of mine, to make mischief. As to one of the honorable gentlemen (Mr. Windham) it is a little remarkable, that the system of a various military force was at one period approved and supported by himself. Although now condemned by him, he formerly contended for its wisdom. The militia, augmentation of the militia, supplementary militia, additional cavalry, all these measures he supported and approved, when he was not only a member of the cabinet, but also secretary at war! I will not enter into the discussion here, whatever I may be induced to do in a more advanced stage of my speech of the opinion of gentlemen respecting the degree of confidence that may be safely reposed in any of the members of this house. I will only say, that when gentlemen have once approved measures, which they now condemn; when they ask the house to rely, in a peculiar degree, on their wisdom; when they do so at the moment that we know that, while members of the cabinet, those measures were never once questioned by them, much less reprobated: when these things strike us, we cannot give implicit credence to self-advised panegyrics of honorable gentlemen. The right honorable gentleman, in particular, differs from himself. If he will only look into a single page of

the journals, he will find, that the bill for raising men in the counties and parishes, for the augmentation of the militia, the cavalry, supplementary, and others, together with many more measures, all tending to render our force throughout of a various description and character, were every one of them measures in which the right honorable gentleman was either jointly concerned, or partly authorized. Thus far, as to the consistency of the new friend of the right honorable gentleman who has moved you. The majority against Mr. Sheridan's motion was 140. Mr. Pitt now brought forward a measure for increasing the regular army. This was by permitting such a portion of the militia to volunteer, as would reduce that establishment to 41,000 for England, 8000 for Scotland; 17000 men were expected by this means to be added to the line. On the 25th of March, Mr. Fox presented the catholic petition, and he said he did it with as much satisfaction as any act of his parliamentary life. It is understood that the catholic delegates had solicited Mr. Pitt to have performed this office, but that the chancellor had thought right to decline it. The consideration of the petition was fixed for the 9th of May.

A committee appointed for the purpose of inquiry into the naval department had now submitted ten reports to the house. In the last, circumstances had been stated of a sufficient importance to induce Mr. Whitbread, on Monday, the 8th of April, to move resolutions, expressing strong censure of the conduct of Lord Melville, (Mr. Dundas, the present first lord of the admiralty). Mr. Pitt replied to Mr. Grey—Without pretending to deny, said Mr. P. that the honorable gentleman has in a great measure adhered to the promise which he made of considering this subject with moderation and coolness, I must be permitted to say that he has not persevered in this resolution to the end. Instead of keeping strictly to facts, which ought alone to be considered in a criminal charge, he has appealed to the feelings of various descriptions of persons, upon topics that are not applicable to the present occasion. He has touched upon the public burdens, and hinted at the supposition that these burdens, required by the pressure of the times, have been aggravated by the abuse of the money, the raising of which forms so heavy a tax on the people. Sir, I am willing to allow, as every man must, that if the public money be squandered by any malversation on the part of the officers, (*hear! hear!*) then the matter becomes a subject for grave consideration and serious inquiry. But what I complain of is this, that the honorable gentleman has endeavoured to mislead the public, by attempting to circulate the notion, that great additions have been made to the public burdens, when no such additions have in the smallest degree taken place, for he knows that not a shilling has been lost to the public—(*hear! hear!*)—that no allegation of any such loss has been mentioned, and that, in fact, no mischief whatever has resulted from this transaction. But I have not only to complain that the honorable gentleman laid aside that moderation with which he commenced, but that he has given a totally mistaken view of the materials on which he founds his charge. The honorable gentleman tells us that the noble lord had an opportunity of answering for himself, as it had been on a fair and impartial trial. Neither the noble lord, nor the other persons who

were examined, ought to be considered as having been brought to any thing like a trial, upon which a final judgment could be safely passed.

I do not say this, Sir, with a view to an opinion on the merits of the points before us. My object is to shew that our materials are not such as to afford a safe ground for any final decision—With respect to the matters themselves, I do not wish to deny that they are of the most grave and important nature, but I do again contend, that the public has not only sustained no loss, but that it has not even sustained any inconvenience from the manner in which the money was applied. Yet, at the same time, I admit, that if the public money be even incorrectly managed by a public officer, he is responsible for his conduct. I beg leave to repeat, that, from a full consideration of this report, I am convinced that all the circumstances are not before us in the full, clear and satisfactory manner, in which they ought to be, before we can give a fair and impartial judgment upon them; I am desirous, however, that the matter should be examined with all that moderation, seriousness and coolness, which ought ever to attend an affair of this nature. Without a long delay, not much beyond the holidays, by agreeing to the motion for a secret committee, for which I shall have the honor to move, the house will have the matter clearly before them; and it is only by this mode of proceeding that the whole can be fully investigated, so as to prepare it for a just and impartial decision. The commissioners, it ought to be observed, do not pretend to say that there were larger issues from the exchequer to the bank, than if a more plain and correct mode of conducting the business of the navy had been adopted. They admit, as a fact, that the issues were not larger. There were none that could increase or accelerate the employment of the money, and consequently it is evident that the burdens of the people have not been augmented; nor has it been proved that a single individual has been retarded in receiving his payments. Upon the whole, it is certainly my opinion, and I trust that those who have read the report carefully, have perceived, that before a proper decision can be given, many circumstances of elucidation are required. On the face of the accounts, 100,000*l.* is the whole amount of the advances to Lord Melville. It is known, that of all the sums of 160 millions which had passed through the hands of Lord Melville, every farthing has been applied to the purposes for which it was issued, and has been regularly accounted for. Mr. Pitt went on to state his reasons—there were errors in the balances stated in the report, and the mixture of public and private accounts by Mr. Trotter, Lord Melville's agent—these circumstances called for an examination by a select committee. A very animated discussion ensued, and the division of the house manifested an exact equality in the sentiments of the members, 216 being for, and 216 against the motion; the speaker gave his casting vote against the minister. Mr. Pitt having moved an adjournment for one day, Mr. Fox objected to it, declaring that the country was in the hands of a *disgraced* ministry.—It was, however, carried on Mr. Pitt's hinting that in such circumstances it was necessary. Lord Melville the next day resigned his office. On the succeeding Wednesday, Mr. Whitbread followed up the resolution of Monday, with moving an address to his majesty

to remove Lord Melville from all places of trust and emolument, which he held during the pleasure of the crown. On this occasion Mr. Pitt rose merely to say, that while the present resolutions remained upon the journals, it would be impossible for any minister to advise his majesty to confer any employment upon the noble viscount. After some debate the motion was withdrawn. The house voted that the resolutions of Monday should be laid before his majesty, and carried up by the whole house. Mr. W. then gave notice of a motion, that the attorney general be instructed to prosecute Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter. It was upon this question that the final separation of Mr. Pitt and Lord Sidmouth took place. It is said that Mr. Pitt's first intention was a direct opposition to Mr. Whitbread's resolutions, and that he consented to forego this idea, in order to obtain the support of Lord Sidmouth's friends, upon the middle and wise proposition of a select committee. Differences, however, arose, upon the conduct to be observed in the future stages of the question, and Lord Sidmouth resigned.

The case of Lord Melville was agitated in a variety of forms during the session. It is sufficient for the purposes of this work to quote Mr. Pitt's speech on the 1st of May, when Mr. Whitbread moved the house to address his majesty to dismiss Lord Melville from all offices of trust and emolument. After stating the reasons that induced him not to be the person to advise the measure of Lord Melville's name being erased from the list of privy counsellors, Mr. P. said, that under a change of circumstances he had done so. I confess, Sir, and I am not ashamed to confess, that I did not advise this step without a bitter pang, but a sense of public duty gave way to private friendship and esteem. I will not erase from my bosom feelings of private affection, but I cannot suffer those feelings to interfere with what I find to be the declared sense of a majority of this house. I own the step was by me reluctantly taken, but it was not for me to dispute the wisdom, or to thwart the wishes of parliament. After what I have said, I trust the honorable gentleman will see the propriety of withdrawing his motion. Every public object is now obtained which the motion could accomplish, and I am sure the honorable gentleman has candour and humanity enough not to press discussions, the only effect of which must be to wound the already severely afflicted feelings of an unfortunate individual.

The catholic emancipation came on upon the 13th of May. Mr. Fox opened the question at great length, and was supported by Mr. Grattan, the celebrated Irish orator, who was brought into parliament for the purpose of speaking upon this great national subject. An adjournment of the debate took place. Mr. Pitt did not rise till near the close of the second night's discussion. In the first place, Mr. Pitt said, I must express my great satisfaction at the temper and moderation with which the subject has been brought before the house, and I trust that nothing on my part will disturb that coolness and impartiality with which a question of so much magnitude should be discussed. The petitioners do not ground their demands on any claim of right, and though the honorable gentleman may not have renounced his private opinion upon the subject, he is content to let

the matter be discussed on the ground of expediency. For my own part I am ready to confess, that I never did consider this question as at all involving any claim of right, and that it was solely on principles of expediency, that I should have ever recommended it to your consideration. The distinction appears to me broad, evident and fundamental. Right is that which is independent of circumstances; expediency that which includes the consideration of circumstances, and is wholly governed by them, and dependent on them. All questions of the enjoyment of power, the exercise of franchise, and the admissibility to office, must be decided by views of general convenience and advantage, and are not in the nature of perfect personal rights, because they are bestowed, not for the benefit of the individual, but conferred for the sake of the state, for which the power is exercised, and the duty performed. In this view we are bound to consider not the advantages of a measure under one particular view or one set of circumstances, but to look at it as involving a multitude of consequences in its adoption, in its execution, nay, in its very discussion, and in the manner and time of its agitation. On this principle I felt, that entertaining, as I did, a wish for the repeal of these laws previous to the union with Ireland, it could not have been consistent with the permanent safety of the protestant interest, with the established frame and constitution of that country, or with the existence of the connection with Great Britain, that such privileges should have been conferred upon the catholics. After the union, indeed, I saw the matter in a different light, and, though certainly no pledge was given to the catholics, that their claims should be granted, I then was of opinion that, if it was found right to grant the claims of the catholics, they might be granted with more safety to the general interests of the protestants and of the whole empire, and even if rejected, they might be rejected with less danger to the tranquillity of Ireland, than if that country had continued under a local legislature. I thought too, that such concessions would have been granted by a united parliament, under such guards and securities for our civil and ecclesiastical constitution, as would entirely remove the danger which many apprehended might arise from so great a departure from the policy of former times. Yet allowing every thing for the good intentions, for the sincerity of the catholics in their declarations, that they have no disposition to avail themselves of any power they may attain, to endanger the church, or to encroach upon established interests, I do not think it injurious to them to suppose that on some future occasion, under the temptation of some favourable opportunity, they might feel that natural wish, and one particularly incident to the catholic religion, to aggrandize the principles to which they are attached. It would have been wise and proper not to have departed from the policy of former ages, without adopting new securities for church and state suitable to the circumstances of the times, and to the novelty of the dangers that might be apprehended. I thought these precautions ought to be adopted on different grounds from any inherent suspicion of the catholics, whose general loyalty I am as willing as any man to admit. I know that it was not as catholics that so many persons of that

persuasion, were engaged in the rebellion. It is true that the rebellion sprang from those principles of jacobinism, which were let loose in France; but it is not unfair to say also, that the influence of the priests themselves, corrupted by jacobin principles, may not have been without effect in aggravating the evil. For this reason it appears to me desirable to provide checks corresponding to the danger to be apprehended; checks not applying to the catholics as catholics, but such tests as would be a security against the principles on which the rebellion originated. I saw that these views and considerations were to be combined into a system under which the catholics would be satisfied, and the protestants safe. Looking at the various interests to be conciliated, the different objects to be secured, I was desirous, if possible, to find that concurrence which would have given a fair chance for carrying into effect a well-matured and digested system, without the danger of those obstacles that might pervert its tendency or defeat its effect. Unless done with these regards, the advantages of the measure, I conceived, would be lost. Unfortunately, however, Sir, circumstances occurred which prevented me from bringing forward this great question in the manner I had hoped for. These circumstances certainly did appear to me of a nature which rendered it expedient for me to relinquish the situation I then held in his majesty's government, for, consistently with my own feelings I could not bring forward the subject while such circumstances existed, and I could not bring myself to be a party to the agitation, far less to the pressing of a measure, to whose success there was an irresistible obstacle. My object was to allay the ferment that had too long fatally existed, to crush all odious jealousies and distinctions, but that object I never could hope to obtain by pressing the consideration of a measure, professing to have these objects in view, when I must have been sensible that the minds of men were not prepared for its reception, when I was conscious it could not be carried in that spirit of harmony from which all its utility was derived. This, Sir, is my view of the subject immediately subsequent to the union, and this view, on the most mature consideration, continues unchanged. Mr. Fox's proposition was negatived by a division of 336 against 124.

No other discussion of importance took place during the remainder of the session, which was concluded on the 13th of July.

During the early part of the year, the greatest efforts had been used by the British government to awaken the continental powers to a just sense of their own honour and of the dangers that awaited them from the enormous power of France, and to induce the three great princes to make common cause with this country. Buonaparte in the meanwhile was increasing his preparations for invasion, and they were so nearly matured, that the attempt was expected to be made every day, when the French troops were suddenly marched from Boulogne to Germany. A coalition had indeed been formed, and upon a scale of such magnitude, that ministers, with reason, hoped a most successful issue. The precipitancy and fatal errors of the Austrians are known, and the consequent defeat of the coalesced monarchs by the disgraceful capitulation of Ulm and the victory of Austerlitz, which enabled

Buonaparte to dictate peace to the emperor of Germany, to compel the emperor of Russia to march his army back to his own dominions, and to new-model the territories and governments of the German princes. The depression which events so calamitous, and so entirely beyond the ordinary occurrences of war, produced in England, was great and general. The nation could scarcely be roused by the glorious battle of Trafalgar. Mr Pitt, whose health had long been declining under the fatigues of never-ceasing attention to the affairs of his country, sunk beneath the calamity. He had been to Bath for the benefit of the waters, and had returned to London for the purpose of attending the meeting of parliament, when his disorder increased to an alarming degree. It was an hereditary gout, attended with extreme weakness brought on by a too anxious attention to business. His nervous system was so shattered as to deprive him for weeks together of sleep. Water in the chest and extraordinary debility of the stomach supervened.

On Tuesday, the 21st of January, 1806, his disorder was so aggravated, that all expectation was at an end. It became necessary for his physicians to declare an opinion, and that Mr. Pitt himself should be made acquainted with his imminent danger. The bishop of Lincoln, his tutor and friend, who had constantly attended him, fulfilled the painful office with firmness. Mr. Pitt was hardly sensible:—this dreaded shock had scarcely power to dissipate his lethargy; but after a few moments he waved his hand, and was left alone with the bishop. He had desired that some papers should be brought to him, to which his signature was necessary; and after he had settled all worldly concerns, he desired to receive the sacrament from his venerable friend, and it was accordingly administered. Some time passed in the solemn duties of religion. His will was made in a calm interval between this time and the following day. He had signified a desire to write a few lines, but his exhausted condition deprived him of the power. The physicians now thought proper to discontinue medicine. During the morning of Wednesday repeated inquiries were made after him, and a statement of his danger was transmitted to his majesty, to his relations, and most of his friends; lady Hester Stanhope, his niece, and Mr. James Stanhope had an interview with him on Wednesday morning, and received his last adieu; his brother, the Earl of Chatham, took his last farewell in the afternoon. The bishop of Lincoln continued with him all night. The mortal symptoms were now approaching to a crisis. His extremities were already cold, and his senses began to fail. As a last and desperate effort to protract life, blisters were applied to the soles of his feet; they restored him to something of sensation and recollection, but they could arrest nothing of the progress of death. It is said that he continued clear and composed till a short time before his dissolution, which took place without a struggle, at half past four on the Thursday morning, and the last words that trembled on his lips were

“OH! MY COUNTRY!”





